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THE NEW YORK STATE TEMPORARY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

THE New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration was organized in accordance with the provisions of a law which became effective on September 23, 1931. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt on October 1, 1931, appointed an Administration of three members—Jesse Isidor Straus, a leading business man of New York City; Philip J. Wickser, a prominent attorney of Buffalo; and John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor. Mr. Straus was designated chairman. Harry L. Hopkins, director of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, was chosen as director of the Administration and Douglas P. Falconer, of the Buffalo Children's Aid and Protective Society, as associate director. Upon the resignation of Mr. Straus and Mr. Wickser in the spring of 1932, Mr. Hopkins and Charles D. Osborne, a newspaper publisher, formerly mayor of the city of Auburn, were appointed members of the Administration and Mr. Hopkins became chairman. Walter W. Pettit, associate director of the New York School of Social Work, was made executive director.

PROVISIONS OF EMERGENCY RELIEF ACTS

The original unemployment relief act, defined as "an act to relieve the people of the State from hardship and suffering caused by unemployment," made an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for an "emergency period" between November 1, 1931, and June 1, 1932,

providing for state aid for municipal corporations accepting the terms of the law. For the purpose of administration, public welfare districts were defined as incorporated cities and county territory beyond the limits of such cities. Two forms of relief were provided for—home relief to be administered by city and county commissioners of public welfare and work relief to be administered by specially created city and county emergency work bureaus. Municipal corporations—that is, cities or counties, as defined—were authorized to furnish home relief or work relief during the emergency period to needy persons who had been residents of the state for two years prior to November 1, 1931, reimbursement for home relief being made from the state fund to the extent of 40 per cent of approved expenditures, and appropriations for work relief to be determined for each municipality by the state administration. Provision was made for increasing the rate of reimbursement for home relief if financial conditions in the city or county made adequate relief impossible without such additional aid from the state. The act defined the types of relief for which claims could be made against the state fund and other conditions governing reimbursement. The Administration was authorized to make grants to city and county commissioners and to emergency work bureaus for the salaries of additional employees approved by the Administration; the amount of the fund so used was left to the discretion of the Administration.

Amendments to the original law became effective June 1, 1932, embodying changes that had been found to be desirable after a period of operation. The amendments broadened the definition of "home relief," changed the residence requirement to two years in the state prior to the date of application, and placed work relief on the same basis as home relief with respect to reimbursement of 40 per cent of approved expenditures. As amended, the act was made applicable to every city and county in the state unless they filed with the Administration resolutions stating that they did not intend to request or accept the state aid authorized by the act. An appropriation of \$5,000,000 was made available for the period ending November 15, 1932, to be expended in addition to the funds already appropriated. Coincidentally with these amendments the Legislature passed an act authorizing the creation of a state debt to the amount

of \$30,000,000 to provide funds to be available between November 15, 1932 and January 1, 1934, through a bond-issue proposal to be submitted to a referendum vote at the general election on November 8, 1932. The vote was 4 to 1 in favor of the bond issue. The life of the Administration is thereby extended to February 1, 1933, and \$15,000,000 of the amount to be provided through the bond issue becomes available for the period from November 15, 1932, to February 1, 1933.

STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

New York was the first state to undertake extensive and long-continued assistance to municipalities in meeting the relief needs precipitated by the long period of unemployment. In October, 1931, the Administration faced the task of creating before November 1 an organization that could deal effectively and without lost motion with relief needs of a state with a population of over twelve million.

Local responsibility and state aid.—Section 1 of the original act defines the essential philosophy of the emergency state aid:

While the duty of providing aid for those in need or unemployed because of lack of employment is primarily an obligation of the municipalities, nevertheless, it is the finding of the State that in the existing emergency the relief and assistance provided for by this act are vitally necessary to supplement the relief work accomplished locally and to encourage and stimulate local effort in the same direction.

The last phrase may be said to be the keynote of the Administration's policies. State aid is an incentive to local units to provide as adequate relief funds as possible from their own resources and to build up local relief organizations that will function economically and efficiently in furnishing assistance to those in actual need.

Under the definition of the unemployment relief act there are 115 possible units for administration of relief in co-operation with the T.E.R.A. New agencies were set in motion for work relief, a practically new field in relief administration. Home relief is administered by the officials who for decades had administered outdoor relief. The law provides that "local bureaus, city commissioners and county commissioners shall in all matters be subject to the supervision, direction and control of the Administration." But in spite of the broad powers conferred upon it, the state administration does not

itself directly administer relief. The responsibility for administration is intrusted to the local officials, and the T.E.R.A. works through them and co-operates with them in setting up an effective organization to meet the demands for relief.

Powers and duties of welfare districts.—The unemployment relief act authorized legislative bodies of municipal corporations to make available sufficient money to pay for home relief or work relief, and to raise such money during the emergency period by interest-bearing notes, certificates of indebtedness, or other obligations payable within a period not exceeding three years, provided the money so raised shall not exceed the constitutional or statutory debt limit of the municipal corporation. The amendment enacted in March, 1932, changed the period for repayment of notes or certificates of indebtedness to five years. Power was given to the legislative body of any municipal corporation to authorize during the emergency the performance of public work undertaken by the municipality other than by contract, through its local Emergency Work Bureau, or by its public works or other department under the supervision or control of the Emergency Work Bureau, notwithstanding any provision in its charter or statutes requiring such work to be let by contract.

Municipal corporations furnishing home relief or work relief under the provisions of the act are required to keep such records and accounts in relation thereto as the Administration may prescribe, and to file with the Administration each month verified detailed statements of relief granted and such other information as the Administration may from time to time require. The law provides that the Administration or any person duly authorized by it "may conduct any investigation pertinent or material to the furtherance of its work," and it is "empowered to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony and compel the production of such books, papers, records and documents as may be relevant to any such investigations." Further general authority is given to the Administration to exercise such powers as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act.

Claims for payment are examined by the Administration and certified by it to the state comptroller. Payment is made from the state treasury upon the audit and warrant of the comptroller to the

fiscal officer of the municipal corporation. The Administration is charged with the duty of prescribing and furnishing such forms of records, accounts, reports, and claims as it may deem advisable for the proper enforcement and administration of the provisions of the act. One of the most significant provisions of the act states that "the Administration shall make and enforce rules in accordance and consonance with the provisions of this act which will best promote the efficiency and effectiveness of the relief which this act is intended to furnish. None of the money appropriated by this act shall be expended or allowed except in accordance with such rules."

State administrative set-up.—One of the most important features of the T.E.R.A. is the responsibility that has been assumed by the three unpaid members, particularly the chairman, in the active direction of the activities of the Administration. The rapid organization of the activities on a business as well as a social basis, in a form that has not required any significant revision, was due in no small measure to the fact that Mr. Straus, during the months he served as chairman, devoted himself exclusively to the Administration's affairs. The Administration was fortunate also in having the services of an able member of the bar and a prominent representative of labor interests. The present Administration includes a member experienced in municipal affairs. The social approach to relief problems has also been recognized in the naming of the present chairman and in the selection of executive directors. The first assistant attorney-general has served as counsel to the Administration, devoting a definite part of his time to this work. A former managing director of the Associated Press served in a volunteer capacity as director of public relations.

The state Administration was authorized to employ a secretary and such other clerks and assistants as it might deem necessary to carry out the provisions of the act, and to fix the compensation of such employees within the amounts available by appropriation. The Administration is empowered to accept from any person or organization "any and all offers of personal service or other aid or assistance in carrying out any of the provisions of this act made without expectation of compensation or other reward." Necessary expenses in connection with actual services may be paid to such volunteers.

Employees and volunteers of the Administration were exempted from the provisions of the civil service law.

The Administration has had a maximum of about ninety employees, including field staff and supervisors, accountants, auditors, information service, research staff, and general-office staff. During the period from November 1, 1931, to October 31, 1932, \$289,229.97 was spent for central administration. This amount represented less than 1 per cent of the total expended or allocated by the Administration during that period. A considerable saving of administrative costs—or, more accurately, a considerably larger volume of work—was made possible through the generous contribution of services by various state departments and by business organizations and social agencies. A firm of public accountants, as a public service without charge, set up the accounting system and contributed the services of experienced auditors for many months. A number of national and local social service organizations loaned members of their staffs to the Administration for extended periods, thus making immediately available the expert assistance required for setting the field activities in motion without delay. It is of interest to note that more than one-third of the present office and field staff consists of persons who would be classified as "social workers."

The Administration's field service.—At the beginning of its activities the Administration, with the assistance of the Joint Vocational Service and co-operating agencies, mobilized a field staff of nineteen men and women who had had experience in dealing with relief problems and in other forms of social service. The course was uncharted, but the Administration proceeded on the theory that immediate first-hand assistance should be given to the public welfare commissioners and the newly organized emergency work bureaus in interpreting the terms of the unemployment relief act and assisting them to equip themselves to take advantage of the state's financial aid. The field service was conceived as a practical means of co-operation between the state and local officials in bringing about standards of relief administration that would conserve state and local funds and at the same time give to the destitute families kindly consideration and aid in accordance with their real needs. The Administration deals with the local officials through the field representatives.

The state was divided into two areas, outside of New York City, each with a regional director in charge of the field service. Each of the regional directors has a staff of nine or ten field representatives, three field auditors, and two case investigators. The field representatives are each assigned from six to eight welfare districts in which they work continuously in co-operation with the public welfare commissioners and emergency work bureaus, assisting them in problems of organization and administration of relief. The field auditors visit the communities to examine the accounts and to assist the officials in improving their accounting systems, and the social investigators, working in co-operation with the auditors, check up on family relief by visits to the homes and inquiry into the actual application of home relief and work relief.

ALLOCATION OF STATE FUNDS

The unemployment relief acts specified that of the total \$25,000,000 appropriated certain sums should be set aside for temporary employment of persons entitled to relief on public improvements undertaken by state departments, and for transfer to the state treasurer for veterans' relief. The amounts that might be used for administrative expenses were also specified. Following these definite provisions, or as determined by the Administration, the allocations of state funds shown in Table I were made for the period ending November 15, 1932.

TABLE I

Total appropriations prior to June 1.....	\$25,000,000
Home relief.....	9,725,000
Work relief.....	8,680,000
Home relief and work relief subsequent to June 1...	3,275,000
Direct grants subsequent to June 1.....	440,000
Salaries for local home-relief and work-relief employees.....	632,000
State projects.....	1,275,000
Veterans' relief.....	634,000
Administration.....	339,000

Through the favorable action on the bond issue by the referendum vote \$15,000,000 of the proceeds of the sale of bonds will become available November 15, 1932, under conditions similar to those prescribed

for the other appropriations. The sum of \$12,000,000 is to be allocated to a reimbursement fund for home relief and work relief and for central administrative expenses, not more than \$100,000 being allowed for administration. The remaining \$3,000,000 is allocated to a discretionary fund for direct grants to municipal corporations, for payment of local salaries, and for veterans' relief and state improvements. Not more than \$100,000 of this fund is to be used for such salaries, and not to exceed \$50,000 for veterans' relief and \$750,000 for state improvements. Continuance of the Administration after February 1, 1933, and disposition of the remaining \$15,000,000 is subject to action by the legislature.

EXTENT OF STATE AND LOCAL RELIEF

Of the 115 welfare districts in New York State, as defined by the act, 111, including 99 per cent of the total population of the state, have co-operated with the T.E.R.A. in administering home relief or work relief, or both, during the period from November 1, 1931, to October 31, 1932. The welfare districts that have made reimbursement claims include New York City, 6 other cities with populations over 100,000, 6 cities of 50,000-100,000, 10 cities of 25,000-50,000, 34 cities under 25,000, and 54 county districts. Those not co-operating are one city with a population under 25,000 and 3 county districts. During the twelve-month period the number of welfare districts making claims against the state fund for home relief increased steadily from 77 in November, 1931, to 109 in October, 1932. Ninety-eight emergency work bureaus were in operation during part or all of the period. Because of shortage of funds there was a decrease in work bureaus during the summer months. On November 1, 1932, 86 were in active operation, 52 of them in cities and 34 in county districts.

During the twelve-month period of November 1, 1931, to October 31, 1932, \$59,981,716.67 of state and local public funds were expended by the welfare districts in co-operation with the state administration. Of the total expenditure, 48 per cent was for home relief and 52 per cent for work relief. Assistance was given to 410,000 different families or single and unattached individuals. Thus, approximately 1,600,000 persons benefited by public aid.

The relief expenditures by up-state districts represented 56 per cent of the total, and for New York City, 44 per cent. The expenditure per capita of the population was considerably higher for the up-state districts—\$5.98 as against \$3.84 for New York City. For the whole state the per capita was \$4.71. The ratio of families per 10,000 of the total population was 475 for up-state districts, 219 for New York City, and 328 for the state as a whole.

For the twelve-month period public relief expenditures for the state, including the districts not co-operating with the T.E.R.A., included approximately \$1,865,000 spent for home relief for which claims were not made against the state unemployment relief fund. Thus the grand total of public funds expended for home relief and work relief was approximately \$61,865,000. It is not possible to obtain figures on the approximate amount expended by private agencies for family relief. In New York City, where there was no general public outdoor relief until home relief and work relief bureaus were established at the end of December, 1931, to administer state and local funds under the unemployment relief act, the private agencies have carried a large share of the relief costs. In most cities in the rest of the state private relief has never been very extensive. It has been the practice in a number of cities for private family welfare agencies to obtain public funds for relief disbursements. No estimate can be made of the aggregate amount of private relief expenditures during the past months or during the preceding years. Adequate figures are also lacking as to public relief expenditures for past years, but from comparative data obtained for June through October of 1932 and the same months of 1931, it appears that public relief expenditures now are at least three times as high as they were a year ago.

EMPHASIS ON WORK RELIEF

The Administration has not taken a definite stand on the question of preference of work relief or home relief, mainly because the limitation of state and local funds had made this impracticable.¹ It is,

¹ It is of interest to note that the Administration makes a clear distinction between work relief (which must be in the form of cash wages) and "work for relief" in kind. An order was issued by the chairman on September 30, 1932, that "home relief claims on which there is any evidence that work is required will not be subject to 40 per cent refund."

however, highly significant of the importance attached to the intangible as well as the practical features of work relief that during the ten-month period ending October 31, 1932, the total expenditure from state and local public funds for work-relief wages was \$31,017,512.94, earned by 181,714 different persons. This amount represented 52 per cent of the total relief expenditure.

The plan for reimbursement of 40 per cent of wages which began June 1, with the same degree of assurance of state funds for work relief as for home relief, should result in longer-range planning and a more regular spread of work relief. It should also eliminate two undesirable practices that have had to be resorted to in the past—supplementation of work-relief wages by home relief and shifting of families to home relief because of limitations of work-relief funds. There appears to be a definite movement toward unification or co-ordination of investigation and social service for home relief and work relief, in the interest of better allocation of relief in accordance with the type of aid that is most desirable in each case, and elimination of duplication of investigation and record-keeping.

In the various welfare districts there was great unevenness in the relative use of home relief and work relief, but it is significant of the emphasis placed on work relief that of the 95 districts which used both home relief and work relief during the twelve-month period, 44 spent more for work-relief wages than for home relief; in 51 the home-relief expenditures were larger.

During the first six months of T.E.R.A. activities a total of 1,621 work projects approved by the Administration were carried out in city and county welfare districts. From May 1 to October 31, 1,500 work projects had been approved by the Administration. A large proportion of these projects were classed as having definite "survival value" to the community.

For the six-month period the distribution of projects by types was as shown in Table II.

Positive statistical evidence cannot be produced on the much-debated question of the cost of work relief as compared with home relief. Work relief is recognized as having intangible values, such as the effect on morale, ability of the relief recipient to pay something on rent and provide necessities other than food, opportunity to buy

more economically, and other similar advantages. The cost of materials and operation are often urged as objections to the use of work relief in an emergency period. Study by the T.E.R.A. of work projects conducted throughout the state during a six-month period

TABLE II

Type of Projects	Per Cent
Highways	41
Sanitation	16
Water supply	7
Parks and playgrounds	12
Utilities and structures	8
General public improvements	3
Clerical and professional	11
Miscellaneous jobs	2

showed that of the total expenditure in connection with these projects, 86 per cent was paid out in wages to registered applicants for relief and 14 per cent was spent for materials and machinery.²

RULES GOVERNING HOME RELIEF AND WORK RELIEF

The unemployment relief act conferred upon the Administration the authority to make and enforce such rules as will best promote the efficiency and effectiveness of the relief. The law itself contains general requirements regarding investigation of all cases and records and accounts of relief, and specifies the types of relief for which state reimbursements may be claimed.

Relief standards.—The *Rules Governing Home Relief and Work Relief*, as originally promulgated and as amended June 1, 1932, include the following definition of relief standards:

The Act provides that relief shall be given to needy persons. Those whose employment is inadequate to provide the necessities of life for them and their dependents are included. This imposes an obligation on the Administration and on all Municipal Corporations, insofar as lies in their power, to see to it that all such needy persons shall receive sufficient Home Relief or Work Relief to pre-

² Administrative expenses are not included in these figures. It is not possible to get at the exact administrative costs since clerical and investigational staffs are often provided through "white collar" work projects and these expenditures are included as wages.

vent physical suffering and to maintain minimum living standards. At the same time an obligation exists to develop maximum efficiency and economy in furnishing relief.

For both forms of relief the *Rules* require that the amount to be given each family must be based on the following:

An estimate of the weekly needs of the individual or family, including an allowance for food sufficient to maintain physical well-being, for shelter, medical care and other necessities.

An estimate of the weekly income of the family, including wages or other cash income, produce of farm or garden and other resources.

The relief granted should be sufficient to provide the estimated weekly needs insofar as the family is unable to do so from its own resources.

Work relief must be in the form of cash wages for work performed, at an hourly or daily rate of pay in conformity with prevailing rates for similar work in the community. Home relief can be given only in kind. Under the law the following types of relief may be granted:

Food, in the form of food order, determined by the number, ages and needs of the individual members of the family in general accordance with standard food schedules supplied by the Administration.

Orders for light, gas, fuel and water, for current needs.

Necessary household supplies.

Clothing, or orders for clothing, sufficient for emergency needs.

Orders for medicine and/or medical attendance to be furnished in the home whenever possible.

Investigation and service.—Under the heading "Investigation and Service," the *Rules Applying to Home Relief* include the following statement in regard to staff:

Each Municipal Corporation should have at least one trained and experienced investigator on its staff; if additional investigators are to be employed to meet this emergency, the first one employed should have had training and experience. In the larger Public Welfare offices, where there are a number of investigators, there should be a supervisor, trained and experienced in the essential elements of family case work and relief administration, to supervise the work of the investigating staff.

Similarly, for emergency work bureaus it is recommended that there should be available at least one trained and experienced investigator, and that all untrained investigators should work under an experienced supervisor. The Administration states that for home relief, during the emergency, the standard should be not more than one

hundred cases per worker for the investigation and supervision of relief cases. The requirement is made that adequate clerical staff and transportation facilities shall be provided for the investigators.

The minimum investigation required by the Administration includes "a prompt visit to the home; verification of residence requirement under the Act; inquiry as to real property, bank accounts and other financial resources of the family; an interview with at least one recent employer; and determination of the ability and agreement of family, relative, friends and churches and other organizations to assist." Further, "There must be contact with each family through visits, at least once a month, or oftener if necessary," and emphasis is placed upon the desirability of keeping in close touch with the family situation so that it shall not be necessary for applicants to reapply to the office for each individual relief order.

Another rule of very great importance to economical and intelligent relief administration is the registration of all applications in a local central index. Where no such central index exists, one must be established by the commissioner of public welfare.

UNIFICATION OF COUNTY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

One of the greatest handicaps to efficient public administration is the town system of relief. This was the established method in New York State until the Public Welfare Law enacted in 1929 authorized a unified county system. Prior to this, each town as well as the county itself administered outdoor relief. When the unemployment relief act went into effect, only 10 of the 57 counties (outside of the 5 counties constituting New York City) had accepted the provisions of this act; 2 of these counties later reverted to the town system and a new county has just adopted the county-unit system. The 48 counties where relief is still on a town basis include 682 towns.

The T.E.R.A. deals only with the county commissioners of public welfare, who handle reimbursement claims for the towns, assuming a certain degree of responsibility for compliance with requirements as to investigation of applications and standards of aid. Considerable progress has been made in county welfare districts through supplying the commissioners of public welfare with the assistance of social

workers who advise with the town officials on their relief problems and give them aid in investigation of applications and record-keeping.

Many personal and political considerations stand in the way of unification of the county relief system and establishment of social service standards in the local units. Even when these principles are accepted as a necessary part of relief administration during the emergency period, permanent change will come only through a long process of education. The emergency relief administration points the way, and definite gains have undoubtedly been made in a number of counties where the local and county officials have become convinced of the desirability and practicability of the methods now being tried out.

CENTRAL INDEX

When the Administration faced the problem of putting into effect the requirement for a central index of relief cases in each welfare district, it was predicted that this would be a very difficult thing to bring about. In actual experience the plan for central clearance of relief cases gained ready acceptance.

As the result of the six months' work by a special field agent, together with the activities of the field representatives in their various districts, county-wide central indexes were established in 18 counties; only 1 county in the state had such central registration previously. In 8 of the 18 counties the county-wide plan was developed from existing city social service exchanges, and in 10 of the counties there had been no such clearing bureau prior to November 1, 1931. Central indexes were established in 10 cities in addition to 4 already having such arrangements. In 20 additional counties and 12 cities clearance of relief cases was provided for by means of a card file. Thus, by June 1, 1932, including the cities utilizing county-wide indexes, 92 of the 103 welfare districts co-operating with the T.E.R.A. had made provision for effective clearance of relief cases, through a central index or by card files that answered the immediate purpose.

LOCAL SOCIAL WORKERS

The Administration was authorized under the law to make grants to city and county commissioners and emergency work bureaus for

the salaries of "additional employees." In December, 1931, a fund was set aside for the payment of such salaries, and the Administration, through its field representatives, offered to make reimbursement for salaries of approved employees to the extent of 50 per cent for work bureaus, as specified in the law, and all or part of the salaries for home relief. In the case of work bureaus, such assistance has been authorized for certain types of supervisory or professional staff, including investigators; for home relief it has been limited almost entirely to investigators, case supervisors, and others with social service experience. Approval is granted by the Administration in each instance only upon the recommendation of its field representatives. Up to November 1, 1932, \$583,419.25 had been paid out or allotted for such local service.

Eighty-two welfare districts—48 cities and 34 counties—have requested and received assistance from the Administration in providing qualified workers with social service experience. On November 1, all or part of the salaries were being paid for 301 investigators or supervisors, 142 of them in New York City and 159 in up-state cities and counties. The significance of this is shown by the fact that prior to November 1, 1931, the beginning of the emergency-relief period, only four or five of the largest cities in the state had any trained service for investigation of applications and supervision of relief. The majority of the workers approved by the T.E.R.A. for salary reimbursement have had extended experience in family relief or allied forms of social service. For example, out of 100 workers employed in one section of the state, 24 had had ten years or more of social work experience; 25, from five to nine years; and 17, from one to four years. Fourteen had had a short period of experience and some social work training, and 4 had had experience in allied fields, such as nursing or special teaching. Sixteen had had no social work training or experience, but they were approved because of their equipment from other points of view for the work to be done. It should be noted that since this analysis was made, several of these untrained workers have been replaced by experienced social workers, upon the request of the county commissioners for more adequate service. This experience illustrates what the Administration's chairman, Mr. Hopkins, refers to as being "realistic" in dealing with the

problem of relief standards, not forcing progress any faster than the local situation can absorb it, but keeping the goal steadily in mind. The Administration endeavors to get the local agencies to assume the entire salary obligation of qualified workers whenever this becomes possible. Also, in the interest of permanency, the emphasis is upon placing in these positions persons who reside in the community, providing they have the necessary qualifications of training and experience in social service.

FAMILY-RELIEF BUDGETS

The requirement of family budgets as a basis for relief injected a principle that was new in public administration in almost all localities, although it has for many years been the foundation stone of relief by private agencies with good standards. Forms incorporating the budget and other essential information in regard to each family and a record of the relief given were prepared by the Administration for the use of public welfare commissioners and emergency work bureaus, and one of these forms must be filled out for each family or individual granted relief for which reimbursement is claimed from the state funds. Prior to this, in many localities relief was frequently given without home visits or other careful investigation to determine the real needs and resources of the families and the deficit that must be supplied. It was a common practice to give grocery orders for \$2.50, \$3.50, \$5.00, or some other fixed allowance regardless of the size of the family.

Although the provision in regard to an estimated family budget is complied with as a necessary step in preparing records so that reimbursement may be claimed, the use of the budget as the basis of the actual relief allotment is less general, owing to the fact that food is the primary relief need that must be supplied even when the families must go without other forms of aid. For example, the item of rent appears in the budget, but in some districts the policies of the public welfare officials or the state of the funds do not permit payment of any extensive rent and the amount actually given the family is not the total that the budget calls for, but covers only the amount that is needed for food. In general, however, the Adminis-

tration's field representatives report notable improvement in consideration of the needs and resources of the individual families and efforts to meet the needs.

The only relief item on which a definite general standard is practicable is the food allowance required for families of different compositions. In order that public welfare commissioners and emergency work bureaus might have reliable information in regard to food allowances required, the Administration in November, 1931, secured the assistance of experts on nutrition and relief problems in the preparation of food-allowance schedules for families of various sizes. In August, 1932, new food-allowance schedules were issued in pamphlet form and distributed to all public welfare offices and emergency work bureaus throughout the state. These schedules were prepared by authorities on nutrition and the use of food budgets in relief of dependent families. Because of differences in the cost of food supplies in different sections of the state, the food-allowance schedules do not specify the amount in terms of dollars, but leave it to the local relief officials to figure the amount to be allowed for the various family groups on the basis of actual cost in that community of the items listed. The emphasis is placed upon the kinds and quantities of food that should be provided with reference to the number of members in the family and their ages. The pamphlet includes specific suggestions in regard to quantities and combinations of foods essential to a properly balanced and economical diet.

The food-allowance schedules represent an effort to cut down the food allowances to the lowest figure possible, while maintaining the margin of safety insisted upon by experts in this field. The Administration lays particular stress on the necessity for safeguarding the health of families, especially where there are children whose physical development may be irreparably injured by deprivation of the foods that are essential to health. Undue limitation of food allowances may prove to be very costly economy in the long run. Several of the public welfare departments in large cities have expert dietitians on their staffs, and in many other districts such service is available for advice and assistance in applying the principles of adequate and economical food allowances.

TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF RELIEF

Prior to the period of state aid, many public welfare departments granted relief only in the form of food. While food allowances have of necessity continued to be the main feature of relief, the unemployment relief act has broadened the types of aid granted by commissioners of public welfare, and in most districts all the forms of relief specified in the act are now given. One of the most difficult problems is payment for shelter, defined as "current rent or its equivalent." In many localities where public officials have had a general rule against rent payments, rent or its equivalent

TABLE III

TYPE OF RELIEF	PER CENT OF HOME RELIEF EXPENDITURE, OCTOBER, 1932	
	Up-State Districts	New York City
Food.....	69.8	62.3
Shelter.....	20.5	35.3
Fuel and light.....	4.9	2.2
Clothing.....	2.7	0.2
Household necessities.....	0.3	*
Medical service.....	1.8	*

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

is now being paid more or less extensively, and provision is made for clothing and for medical service when required. Regardless of the demands for other forms of aid, food is the essential need in this emergency period, and it must sometimes be provided to the exclusion of other necessities.

During the five months of June through October, expenditures for food represented 74 per cent of the total spent in the state for home relief; shelter, 21 per cent; fuel and light, 2 per cent; clothing, 1 per cent; household necessities, less than one-half of 1 per cent; and medical service, 1 per cent. The difficulties encountered in meeting all the needs of dependent families, rather than the extent of the various types of need, are reflected in the distribution of relief items (see Table III).

For home relief it was possible to obtain figures on the number of family groups, as distinguished from single and unattached individ-

uals, and the relief expenditures for these families. For work relief this division into families and single individuals was not practicable. Therefore, in the following figures on the average monthly expenditure, the home-relief averages approach more nearly the amounts received by family groups and are more valuable for purposes of comparison. But it must be remembered that the method used of dividing the total expenditures by total-relief units for a month means a considerable "dilution" of the amounts, since some of the families did not receive relief throughout the month. The actual amounts per family for both types of relief were, therefore, higher than the averages shown.

The average monthly grants for October, substantially the same as for the months immediately preceding, in the various types of districts were as shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

	Average Monthly Home Relief per Family, October, 1932
New York City	\$30.88
Up-state welfare districts.....	21.88
Cities, population groups:	
100,000 or over	22.47
50,000, under 100,000.....	19.22
25,000, under 50,000.....	23.61
Under 25,000.....	15.96
Counties.....	23.33

For work relief—keeping in mind the different basis for these figures—the averages for the month of October were as shown in Table V.

TABLE V

	Average Monthly Work-Relief Wages per Worker, October, 1932
New York City	\$42.47
Up-state welfare districts.....	33.39
Cities, population groups:	
100,000 or over	42.60
50,000, under 100,000.....	32.23
25,000, under 50,000.....	23.85
Under 25,000.....	23.27
Counties.....	33.28

REDUCING RELIEF COSTS

The Administration has stressed the importance of conserving state and local funds through economy in buying food supplies and other necessities in order that the families in need of relief may be provided for as adequately as possible. Real economies have been effected in many of the welfare districts through careful selection of stores and constant supervision of prices. In some communities the problem of rent has been dealt with through agreements assuring the property-owners a fair return and keeping this expenditure within reasonable limits. Much attention has also been given to methods of supplying clothing without undue drain upon relief funds.

A Committee on Relief Standards has co-operated with the Administration in making studies of methods of reducing the cost of the main items of relief. Methods of reducing the cost of food for the unemployed have been inquired into and suggestions based on the experience in this and other states have been sent to the officials in all of the welfare districts of the state. A similar study of the rent problem has been made for the guidance of the Administration's field staff, summarizing various experiments that have been made in cities throughout the country in aiding home-owners to retain property and efforts to arrive at equitable arrangements with landlords. Methods of furnishing fuel, including trade agreements with dealers, and policies regarding payment for light have been inquired into. Methods of meeting clothing-relief needs have also been studied and detailed suggestions on this subject have been made available to public welfare commissioners. These include economy in buying necessary articles of new clothing, collection and remodeling of old garments, the organization of sewing-rooms as work projects, volunteer sewing groups, and distribution of clothing.

During the past summer the Administration promoted throughout the state "subsistence gardens" to be planted and used by families receiving relief. This activity has been a special interest of the state-wide Advisory Council, which has functioned in co-operation with the Administration since the spring of 1932. Through this project, undertaken with the assistance of the agricultural college of Cornell University, more than thirteen thousand families have been

provided with fresh vegetables, raised by their own efforts, and there has been a substantial saving in food expenditures for the welfare districts.

HOW FAR HAVE THE STANDARDS BEEN ATTAINED?

The Administration's *Rules Governing Home Relief and Work Relief* embody two aims: first, to conserve public funds and to have them expended efficiently; second, to secure for the applicant sympathetic and kindly consideration. In order to set up machinery for these purposes it was necessary to have an adequate system of records and accounts and compliance with the fundamental principles of investigation of applications for relief. It is also a matter of real economy as well as of humanity to supply for each family the amount and kind of aid required.

Since November 1, 1931, the T.E.R.A. has been working toward the development of the standards it has set up for state and local relief administration. The Administration has had the co-operation of welfare districts covering 99 per cent of the population of the state in efforts to provide emergency relief efficiently and economically and to deal with the needy families in a sympathetic and kindly spirit. Hopeful as the progress has been in a large proportion of the cities and counties of the state toward attainment of these standards, the Administration by no means feels that its purposes have been entirely accomplished.

Most of the welfare districts, with the financial and other forms of aid given by the state, have handled in at least a fairly successful manner relief loads three times as heavy as last year, when relief needs were already far above normal. From state and local funds there has been a relief expenditure of over sixty million dollars, providing assistance for 410,000 families, or more than 1,600,000 different persons. For every 10,000 of the population of the state, approximately 1,200 persons have been beneficiaries of public relief.

Perhaps the outstanding fact brought out in analysis of the activities is the emphasis placed by the local welfare districts upon work relief as a method of relief. Fifty-two per cent of the total relief funds were spent for work-relief wages. Work relief was

practically a new and untried method. It has succeeded because the committees of citizens enlisted in this activity in ninety-eight cities and counties brought to it not only business practices, but also an understanding of the human element and acceptance of the importance of the intangible values for the applicant and for the community of occupation and cash wages.

Home relief has been administered by the local officials who have distributed poor-relief for decades. There has been no attempt on the part of the Administration to impose its authority on these officials. Standards have been raised through a steady process of education by the Administration's field representatives and through the concrete demonstration of modern relief methods by the workers with social service experience whose employment has been made possible largely through the aid of the T.E.R.A. Certain standards of record-keeping and accounts and primary investigations must be complied with in order to receive reimbursement from the state fund. But long-established habits of relief-giving cannot be overcome in a period of months, especially in an emergency period when the volume of applications would overwhelm the best organization, and when funds available for relief are so limited that even where there is a fine spirit of co-operation it is impossible to furnish adequate relief to all who need help. Nevertheless, definite progress has been made in acceptance of the real economy, as well as the value from a social point of view, of modern relief standards applied to public welfare agencies. To what extent public relief agencies can maintain even the present standards of investigation, adequate family relief, and efficient and economical administration will depend on the possibility of providing the necessary state and local funds while the abnormal need continues, and on measures taken to continue these standards after the emergency period has passed.

EMMA OCTAVIA LUNDBERG

NEW YORK STATE TEMPORARY EMERGENCY
RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

REGISTRATION OR CERTIFICATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS¹

REGISTRATION or certification might be defined as the act by which a governmental unit indorses, by definition or by examination, the qualifications and competence of certain persons to perform a function in which this government recognizes an interest in the quality of performance.

In the United States the active governmental unit in the registration, certification, and licensing of other occupational groups has been the state.

Although there is no technical distinction between the terms "registration" and "certification," certification implies a more active governmental function than does registration, which may be limited to keeping a list of certain types of individuals. During the next few months or years, while the social workers are debating the timeliness of moves toward governmental recognition, and discussing how it will be done, the term "certification" may be the best to use, as it describes more precisely the professional objective.

In nearly all discussion of the extent to which social work has arrived at professional status, the point of control of practice is mentioned. On that point it is usually admitted that social work gets a low mark, and the subject is dismissed as something which is sure to come but not too immediately.

One reason for this, I believe, is that we have accepted a remoteness for the concept of state recognition which does not really exist. We have thought of it as we are likely to think about other questions—as a full, complete, and exclusive concept. We have certification, or we don't have it. To get it, would require a whole campaign of education to convince a state legislature of something about which we ourselves are not quite sure.

While some of these things may be required, it is possible to show that certification is not a remote thing or an absolute thing. Slight

¹ A paper read at a Joint Session of the American Association of Social Workers and Division XI of the National Conference of Social Work in Philadelphia, May, 1932.

alterations in the definition given above reveal that there are many ways in which certification is approached and partially attained without definite incorporation into law.

There are several informal beginnings, or even equivalent practices, which make certification seem reasonably close at hand, and, indeed, attainable by a simple extension, on a safely evolutionary basis, of the efforts we have been making to extend the recognition of standards in social work.

In social work we are familiar with the idea that voluntary and informal services experimentally developed by groups of interested persons are frequently taken over and made a governmental function. When certification comes, it will have gone through something of the same cycle. No doubt, several examples could be found. Leaving the government out for a moment, is it not true that many public and private social agencies have used the certificate of a school of social work as a basic definition of qualification and competence? A more complete analogy, and one with which I am more familiar, is the use of the membership standards of the American Association of Social Workers as a basis for certification. Many social agencies have reported regulations to the effect that applicants for staff positions must be members of the Association or possess qualifications that would entitle them to become members, as the case may be. Sometimes this use of the standard of the Association is decreed by formal action of the agency board of directors. In any case, such use by an agency gives the standard of membership adopted by the A.A.S.W. the same use which might be made of a standard set up by a non-compulsory certification law. The A.A.S.W. is a non-legal, informal, voluntary certification board. Its membership card, or its letter attesting to eligibility of membership, is a certificate in every sense except that of its legal recognition, and in every way except certain formalities of application.

Nor has the use of the Association membership standard been restricted to private agencies. The National Membership Committee was requested, about two years ago, to pass on the eligibility of a social worker who was applying for a position in a public agency. The position has just been created. The appointing officer wanted professional social work indorsement to help him define the type of

person to be appointed. The Association membership served, in lieu of legal definition, as a certificate.

A few years ago it was decreed by action of the state welfare board of a western state that every county institution for children must have "adequate social case work. . . . Decision as to adequacy in each institution will be made by the Department. The qualifications of training and experience required by the A.A.S.W. will in general be regarded as a satisfactory preparation for social workers to be employed by the institutions." These examples could be multiplied.

The principal elements of a certification system are operating in another way in several southern states, in which the state boards of public welfare are given authority by law to set minimum standards and qualifications under which counties may employ social workers.

It may be that neither of the formidable terms ("registration" and "certification") of social workers was employed when Alabama recently amended "sections 104 and 115 of the Code of Alabama 1923 which relate to the powers and duties of the State Child Welfare Department." Nevertheless, by the amendment the following paragraph became law:

In order to unify and standardize probation work in the juvenile courts of this state, the State Child Welfare Commission is hereby empowered to prescribe reasonable standards of education, training and experience which must be attained by any applicant for the position of Probation Officer in any of the several juvenile courts of the state before he shall be employed.

This law is not of itself certification, but it authorized the Child Welfare Commission to certify the requirements for certain positions. I should like to follow the Alabama action a bit farther and find its relation to certification.

In 1927 the State Department of Education had been given similar certification authority as applied to attendance officers. By collaboration between the Departments of Child Welfare and Education the positions of attendance officer and probation officer have been merged into that of "county welfare superintendents" in those counties which have organized county boards under the law (all but three counties, I believe). The county welfare superintendent derives his powers and duties from those held by these parent-positions. Furthermore, the authority of the two state departments over

standards of education, training, and experience for attendance and probation officers governs the standards for the county welfare superintendents under the merger.

The specific standards, therefore, are not in the law, but are decreed by state departments, under authority duly delegated, as follows:

To be employed as a Probation Officer or Attendance Officer or County Welfare Superintendent, an applicant must show these qualifications:

Graduation from an accredited college or university.

Three years experience in teaching or in social work under supervision within the last five years.

An approved course of training in social service, equal to about 12 semester credits.

Armed with these qualifications, a social worker may secure a provisional certificate, which is good for three years and can be reinstated after that time for additional three-year periods, provided that additional courses yielding a minimum of 12 more semester-credits shall be completed during the first three years.

The certificate is made permanent when the social worker has secured a full Master's degree. Only those with Master's degrees are employed now, I believe, on the field staff of the state department.

The question is frequently raised in connection with certification plans as to whether it would not be necessary to give legal sanction to low personnel standards. Alabama's successful application of high standards reaches comparatively few positions, and therefore avoids some of the pressure which would be put on general certification proposals in states with large numbers of assorted social workers in many fields of work. It is, nevertheless, a significant accomplishment, which must have required a straightforward effort to achieve a desirable goal. Might we not adopt the policy generally? Are we not inclined to be too tentative in asking for standards and going after them?

Mr. Raymond M. Gallagher in the *Social Service Review* of June, 1931, quotes a bulletin of the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association, an organization privately supported for the purpose of building up standards in social work in the state, as follows:

In the General Poor Relief Act of 1925, county directors of the poor are authorized to employ trained welfare workers and all other necessary employees

and assistants. . . . The employment of trained welfare workers should not be made mandatory, since there are not enough professional social workers available at present and because it is better policy to wait until public opinion will fully support employing such workers.

Why should Alabama ask and get trained welfare workers, whereas Pennsylvania acquiesces in the employment of those without the qualifications which are known to be required for carrying out any welfare program on a satisfactory basis? It would be unfair to answer that question solely by inferring that the leadership was different in two states: that in one it went after a desirable goal in a straightforward way, and achieved it; and that in another it was apologetic, tentative, self-conscious, and afraid, and so failed. I think there is another element, that of state-wide standards as exemplified by the idea of certification, which makes it possible for the counties to choose their own workers under the guidance and with the assistance of the state in setting standards.

These examples of present practices in which the idea of certification is approximated remove some of its formidable aspects. It does not appear to be a revolutionary step to extend this indorsement of standards by the state to the whole field of social work, public and private. It may be difficult, but not revolutionary.

Before speaking of certain difficulties to be faced in working out a complete plan of certification, as applied to social work, I wish to emphasize the fact that certification does not, by itself, restrict the practice of social work to those who hold certificates. In comments on the California proposal in the April 15, 1929, *Survey*, when the bill was still in the legislature with a chance for its passage, Mr. Bruno discussed the lack of mandatory provisions. He said the mere fact of registration was like "separating ourselves into the sheep and the goats, each of whom, however, finds satisfactory and approximately similar pasturage."

I think it is safe to predict, however, that if a certification bill were passed in any state, many appointing boards and officers would welcome the definition of standard requirements with enthusiasm, and civil service commissions would specify that examinations were open to certified social workers. Now, although many times these commissions ask for qualifications similar to the membership re-

quirements of the American Association of Social Workers, and though an eagerness is shown for a simple definition of the background and professional education of those to whom examinations are to be open, there is nothing at present available in the simple and usable form of a certificate covering those points, issued under the authority of the state. Recently our office had considerable correspondence with a local government board in Connecticut. The board wanted a definition of the type of person to employ in a social work position. Is it not likely that other boards, perhaps unaware of a National Association of Social Workers, do not write to anyone, and stifle their impulses to raise the requirements for their positions? It is reasonable to believe that appointing officers would use a high standard if they found it ready-made, rather than struggle with a definition of their own.

Because our efforts on personnel standards are sometimes frustrated, it should not make us lose sight of the fact that the federal government, many states, counties, and cities recognize and employ some of the best social workers in the country. In other words, we do not have to begin at the beginning to secure recognition.

In Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and probably other states, it is now customary to invite social workers to prepare and give examinations for social work positions. The Baltimore chapter of the A.A.S.W., within the last few weeks, has been asked to function in that way. Certification would be but a step farther. But state civil service commissions have jurisdiction over many positions of great variation. In Massachusetts, I understand, the number is about 46,000. A certification plan by which the original examination or determination of professional qualifications as applied to social work could be formally assigned to a board of persons of that profession would simplify the civil service procedure, as it would any other application of the merit system of personnel selection.

The Supreme Court of the United States, as quoted in a meeting of this section last year by Mrs. Mitchell, has defined a profession as "a vocation involving relations to the affairs of others of such a nature as to require for its conduct an equipment of learning or skill or both, and to warrant the community in making restrictions in respect to its exercise." Social work would appear to fall precisely

into this category; and although neither the social workers nor the states completely control practice, the schools, the A.A.S.W., the other specialized professional associations, and some laws and practices, do function for the community to restrict and influence standards of practice. As certification is, therefore, but an extension of the informal and incomplete restraints which we already have and approve, we might as well agree to go after it.

This agreement, however, is the easiest part of the enterprise. Now we must define particularly what we want and how we want to accomplish it. I am going to list a few of the problems which we will need to deal with.

1. There is the question with which we have been working for a long time: What are the border lines of social work? That is, who should be certified?

2. To the extent to which social work training is on an apprenticeship or experience basis, the problem of defining qualifications is complicated. Where professional schools and the profession itself have reached an agreement which is expressed in practice, to the effect that school training is necessary, as in the nursing, medical, and other professions, the school certificate is the basic certificate. Where great numbers of agencies with varying standards are responsible for training, a much more intricate system of credits is required.

3. How can we frame legislation which will elevate standards without crystallizing them at a level which will be difficult to change? How can we keep a solid bottom, and at the same time have room at the top? Would the Alabama plan work as well if transplanted to other states? If the authority to fix standards is delegated to a state commission, is it possible to expect that commission to resist whatever pressure there may be to slip constantly to lower levels? Or would it be better to employ another method and write into the law the detailed specifications of education, training, and experience?

4. How would each state delegate authority for standards, and to what body?

5. Would it be necessary to have state organizations of the A.A.S.W. so that a strong, nationally indorsed professional group would be available to perform its important part in co-operation with the state to make the plan serve its purpose well?

6. What device could be employed to certify valuable social workers, already in practice, without fixing the requirements at the lowest common denominator of their existing qualifications as measured in terms of education and experience standards?

7. To what extent, and in what way, could arrangements be made by which certificates of one state could be honored by another, so that certified social workers of one state would not be excluded from positions in other states for which certification was required?

These questions involve state decisions, but they also include many points on which some national co-ordination is highly desirable. Miss Breckinridge, chairman of the Committee on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work of the A.A.S.W., is to report for that Committee Thursday morning, May 19, 1932, at the annual meeting; and I believe some recommendations will be made at that time concerning these national aspects. In the meantime, the social workers of California are continuing to work on a state system of registration. The Chicago Chapter of the A.A.S.W. has recently voted to take steps to secure a state certification law. Mrs. Edith Mitchell, chairman of the New York City Chapter Committee on Civil Service Standards, drafted a tentative bill last year especially adapted to New York State.

In the experience of other professions, social work can find much that will help to answer the questions I have raised and other questions which will be encountered. In the cursory inquiry which I have made into this experience, I have found two general points of significance. From no quarter does there appear, in any certified or licensed profession, any suggestion that those measures should be rescinded. The other generalization is that if professional schools, professional practitioners, and public administration approach each other in appreciation of skills and learning required to do the work of a profession, certification or licensing by the state will result.

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RETIREMENT ALLOWANCES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS¹

IF ONE should save \$10 a month for forty years from age twenty-five to age sixty-five, he would have about \$12,000, and with that he could purchase an annuity yielding about \$100 a month for life. That program is based on several hypotheses: (1) never being unemployed, (2) never being serious ill, (3) never omitting the saving of \$10 per month, (4) never failing so to invest as to earn at least 4 per cent, and (5) that means never losing any money in bad investments.

I formerly thought that was not a difficult or impossible task for an intelligent person; and I thought, further, that the ordinary person could save at least 10 per cent of his income, which would be much more than \$10 a month, and that he should have very much more than \$12,000 at age sixty-five. This depression has changed my point of view, as it has that of many, many thousands of others. I know careful, prudent people who saved money and invested it carefully, with good advice, in bonds eligible for savings banks of New York; and I have seen those savings fade away in a few months. This experience has shaken my faith that prudent investment offers security.

Even if people are not unemployed and are not disabled, my experience leads me to be very skeptical as to the number of persons who early in life become addicted to the habit of saving. I am convinced that there are thousands of social workers who can give exceedingly good advice to other people for the management of their affairs who themselves have very small surplus at the end of the year, and I am afraid there are many who spend their incomes before they get them. Some of these young persons have impressed upon their clients the dangers of instalment purchases, and nevertheless buy radios, refrigerators, and automobiles for themselves which it takes a year to pay for.

This matter of saving and accumulating looks quite simple and easy when you compute how much you will have in forty years if you

¹ A paper read at a Joint Session of the American Association of Social Workers and Division XI of the National Conference of Social Work, May, 1932.

save regularly, if you get 4 per cent, and if you do not lose your money.

The fact is that many persons, if not most persons, need to impose upon themselves some form of compulsion in order that they may save an adequate amount with regularity. It is equally important, if not more important, that savings should be put voluntarily out of control of the saver. There are thousands of promoters, some honest and intelligent, some honest and visionary, and some plain thieves forever seeking the savings of those who are simple and innocent in financial affairs. The art of preparing "sucker" lists is a highly developed art, perhaps even as highly developed as the art of preparing suitable lists of prospects from whom to extract money for charitable uses. Then, too, there is a perennial crop of brothers and nephews and friends who have glorious opportunities to invest money in businesses which will make their everlasting fortunes. We have all met women who have lost their little all. Women, and men too, need a place to put their savings where they can say with truth that these savings cannot be reached for all these glittering investments, which are such a strong appeal to their desire for security or to the stronger appeal addressed to their sympathies that they may help those who are near and dear to them. What we are now concerned with is security and security for old age.

How can we impose upon ourselves the compulsion to save? How can we invest with safety for a reasonable return? How can we safeguard the investment so we cannot touch it? I believe a good life insurance company is the best agency to serve these three purposes.

Insurance, as we have it today, is an invention of modern times. Very few people realize that the essential quality of all kinds of insurance is the voluntary, co-operative bearing of burdens. In the pioneer days in this country one of the interesting events in the life of a farmer was to go and help at a barn-raising. If a man's barn burned down, the neighbors assembled and helped him build a new one. That was fire insurance. When building became a more complicated affair, it was easier for each person to pay his money into a common fund in proportion to the value of the building he insured and in proportion to the risk of fire; and when one of the co-operators suffered fire loss, he could draw upon the fund in proportion to what he had put in.

The promotion and the management of the fund had to be provided. The fire insurance company provided it; and whether it was a mutual company in form or in form a gainful corporation did not alter its essential characteristic, which was and is that it is a mode of voluntary co-operation upon the part of all those who use it to insure against the risk of fire.

I have heard that in parts of the West there is little need of homes for orphans because when the parents die the neighbors take the children and bring them up. That is life insurance. The life insurance company affords the machinery for enabling people to co-operate in taking care of each other's dependents when death takes the husband or father. Life insurance companies are great co-operative societies by which people bind themselves together to care for widows and orphans.

Insurance companies now offer the opportunity for the mutual sharing of every conceivable risk of life for which there can be compensation in money. I think that reflection upon these essential characteristics of insurance makes it far more attractive and that one who understands it will never make that foolish remark that to profit from life insurance one must die. You profit every day because you are helping to care for a number of widows and orphans of those with whom you are associated in a great co-operative enterprise.

There are various plans of group insurance to provide for old-age allowances. Often these plans contemplate some form of life insurance or health insurance. For many people life insurance may be a necessity, and so may insurance against disability. If you want such insurance, you must pay for it. You cannot have provision for old age and, in addition, the return of the money paid in for the benefit of beneficiaries and insurance against disability, without an appropriate payment for each.

Our primary concern today is the provision of an annuity at retirement age. If that provision is to be made for a voluntary group by a contract with the group and not with a single employer, there must be as many as two hundred persons in order to get the benefit of group rates.

This is the rule of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which informs me that there is an advantage of about 12 per cent

in a group rate as compared with its corresponding individual annuity rates. A group plan could be put into effect through the American Association of Social Workers if as many as two hundred persons desired to take advantage of it.

If any insurance, either life or health, is involved, a group contract cannot be effected for less than fifty persons; but if the contract is solely for annuities, the group may be no less than ten persons, provided the contract is made with the employer and payments are to be made by the employer either through contributions by employees or solely at the expense of the employer.

If a plan for annuities at group rates is to be in effect, for the present staff it will generally be found necessary for present employees to contribute part of the premium. In this case it is a real contribution by the employee. When such a plan is made obligatory for future employees, while it may well be in form partly a contribution by the employee and part by the employer, in reality a contractual relation is established and there is no real contribution by the employee. The employee is offered, for example, \$190 a month cash and \$20 a month contribution to an annuity. In this case there is no real question of contribution by either employer or employee. The employer hires the employee for \$190 present payment and \$20 deferred payment. The employee takes it or leaves it. That is the contract of hiring, and to speak of either of them "contributing" is a misnomer.

In the case, however, of the present employee paid \$200 a month, if he voluntarily agrees to receive \$190 in cash in consideration of the employer paying \$20 to the insurance company, that is a real contribution. The employee contributes \$10, the employer raises his wages \$10 but does not pay it in cash but pays it to the insurance company for his benefit.

I think it is somewhat important to analyze both cases and see clearly what really happens. A good many differences of opinion, disputes, and hard feeling have been engendered by thinking in terms of one party or the other as contributing to a fund for the benefit of both. As a matter of fact, the fund is for the benefit of both, for no self-respecting employer wants to discharge an employee after working age without provision for the future. If that provision

has been built up through the years, it is to the advantage of the employer, as well as immensely to the advantage of the employee.

If we agree that provision for old age is desirable, that it can be effected economically by a contract with the employer, the great difficulty is the initial one of starting. If the employer is to induce employees to accept a diminution of present cash income, the employer must offer something in return. Often good plans are presented, but they cost so much that the employer cannot face the additional burden. We are considering the case of societies engaged in some form of social work and relying in whole or part on annual contributions. It is hard to get them to accept a sudden considerable increase in the budget.

This plan is so sound, so much to the advantage of both parties, that if we can get it started on ever so small a scale, it will endure and grow until in time it meets the total need, whatever that may be.

While it is desirable to include all permanent employees in the plan, it might be started by any society which has ten or more professional workers, by including the professional workers only. It could be started by getting the employer to pay no more than \$5.00 a month for each professional worker, provided the professional worker added not less than \$5.00 a month. Ten per cent of the salary is a good goal at which to aim. If the salary were the same throughout the forty years, 10 per cent of the salary set aside monthly, starting at the age of twenty-five, for an annuity, would yield the annuitant full salary as a retiring allowance at age sixty-five. That applies to the women. The man, being a more fragile creature, would get nearly 25 per cent more. This is a case where Nature intervenes and will not permit men and women to be treated alike, because women live longer.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has kindly given me an estimate based on group rates for a man and for a woman. If the woman pays \$10 per month from the age of twenty-five to sixty-five, she will have an annuity of \$1,255; and for the same payment a man would receive \$1,562.

To start the plan, I have already suggested that the employer might contribute \$5.00 per month in consideration of a contribution by the employee of not less than \$5.00. For future employees I have

worked out a schedule intended to make the cost to the employer as low as practicable in order that the plan may be instituted. It means an addition to the present scale of wages of \$5.00 a month per person. It might be something like this:

If the present wage of a beginner is \$100 a month, let the employer add \$10 for the premium. As the employee's wage is increased by \$10 a month, let the employee pay \$5.00 and the employer \$5.00 until the old wage reaches \$140. As the wage increases by \$10.00 a month, let the employer pay \$10.00 and the employee \$5.00 until the wage reaches \$200 a month. Then let the employer pay \$15.00 and the employee \$5.00 until the wage reaches \$250. Then let the employer pay \$10.00 and the employee \$15.00. That new wage scale would not be an immediate burden. It would tend to increase as the years went on, but it would increase by only a moderate amount.

The question will undoubtedly be asked: What will happen if an employee leaves the employment? If the employee shifts from one employer to another who has a group plan in operation of the same kind with the same company, he may take his place in the new group upon proper notice and continue with all the rights and obligations that he had before. If he leaves the employment and does not become associated with another group, he may continue making the same payment, retaining the advantages he had as a member of a group. If he should cease to make the payment, he would then receive at retirement age whatever he had paid for up to the time of his withdrawal and the cessation of his premium payment.

Young people, I know, do not give much thought to what will happen to them when they are sixty-five or seventy years old. That time looks too far off to be of any interest to them whatever. When they are past fifty, they begin to think about it. That is not too late to do something about it, but it is too late to get the advantage of compound interest from twenty-five years old to fifty years old. What makes the results so fine is compound interest and the fact that not everyone lives to be seventy years old. This is a great human, co-operative enterprise by which we band ourselves together for the common care of the old.

LAWSON PURDY

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF BRITISH HEALTH INSURANCE

AFTER twenty-one years' experience in the administration of a State Health Insurance scheme, Parliament, acting on the advice of the Government Actuary, has recently had under consideration a bill to reduce the sickness benefit of women, and in particular to fix a sum for the disablement benefit below that of the rate when compulsory Health Insurance was first introduced into this country, in the year 1911.¹ Taking into account that a State Insurance scheme providing benefits in times of sickness had been but one factor in a great campaign for prevention of ill health, and is but one of many state-aided measures directed to this end, it would have been expected that by now a definite improvement would have been observable in the health of women workers. But apparently the contrary is the case if claims to benefits under the Act are to be accepted as the test. It would therefore appear of first importance to seek to discover the causes of the increases, causes which may be economic, social, psychological, as well as physical.

Under the British scheme all employed people whose incomes are below £250 a year are, with a few exceptions, compulsorily insured. Contributions are paid by the employer, by the worker, and by the state, the employer being responsible for stamping the card of the employee with the insurance stamps obtained through the post-office. For simplicity of administration and in order to do nothing to harm the Voluntary Friendly Society Movement, many of the societies are approved by the Ministry of Health, the worker being a member and receiving his sickness benefit through them. There is also the deposit contributor who is a member of no society, and whose benefits are limited to the total sum standing to his account; but these are few in number.

Benefits obtainable fall under five heads: sickness benefit, a weekly sum paid to the worker so long as the doctor signs him up as unfit

¹ This article was written before the passing of the National Health Insurance Act, 1932.

for work, lasting for a maximum period of 26 weeks; disablement benefit, at a rate lower than sickness benefit, and payable when the latter is exhausted and until the worker is signed up by the doctor as fit for work; medical benefit and drugs; maternity benefit, which in cases where both husband and wife are insured is a double sum; and, lastly, additional benefits paid out of the surpluses of which many societies find themselves possessed, these benefits varying from society to society both in amount and kind, but in all cases the type of additional benefit allowed must be approved by the Government Department. Needless to say, Friendly Societies which are recognized for the purposes of the Act, and are known as "Approved Societies" must keep their State Insurance accounts separate from those of the voluntary side of the work, and their accounts and expenses must be submitted regularly to the central Government Department for examination.

Every five years the Government Actuary publishes a report of the assets and liabilities of the approved societies, and it is on the basis of the last quinquennial report,² which appeared in the autumn of 1931, that the changes in benefit now to be introduced are based. From this document, therefore, we may arrive at some of the reasons for the change.

One of the most serious features of our present health problem is that if we compare men and women who come within the range of the Health Insurance acts, the women are so much the greater burden on the funds. Sir Alfred W. Watson, the Government Actuary, in a paper³ read some time ago before the Royal Statistical Society, showed clearly that women as a whole were more often ill than men, and further that the married woman had a sickness rate very much higher than either that of the man or that of the single woman. Such statements are based upon definite evidence, and this sex difference seems to be growing rather than lessening.

² *National Health Insurance. Report by the Government Actuary on the Third Valuation of the Assets and Liabilities of Approved Societies* (Cmd. 3978; London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1931). See the section of the *Review*, dealing with "Public Documents" p. 694.

³ "National Health Insurance: A Statistical Review," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XC (1927), 433-73.

The total now insured against sickness is over 16 million, an increase of 10.3 per cent in the case of men, and 16.3 per cent in that of women, since the last valuation period. The increase of insured women is largely among the married women, who account for 23.8 per cent of the total increase, and an analysis of the age distribution of the insured married women shows an increase of about 30 per cent who are under thirty years of age.

Bearing in mind that we have a rapidly increasing number of insured young married women, a study of the surpluses of different insuring units becomes very suggestive. The surpluses arise, as has been mentioned, after the calls upon the funds due to normal benefits under the Act have been met. Taking the average surplus per member in different societies—a figure which is an index of the amount of sickness which must be met in different groups—we find that societies insuring men alone have a surplus per member of £2 7s. 6d. while in those insuring women alone the surplus is only £1 11s. per member. It is true that a small group insuring the two sexes has a higher surplus per member than either group insuring one sex only, but this high figure, when analyzed into its constituents, shows clearly that the special circumstances of one very small unit is sufficient to account for it, and that generally societies insuring men and women together have a lower surplus per member than those which concentrate on men.

It is out of the surplus that additional benefits are paid, and in all probability these additional benefits which the Health Insurance scheme has been able to provide are its most valuable side, for they mean for thousands that a service can be obtained which renders possible real restoration to health. It is not a little dismaying, therefore, to discover that since the last valuation period the amount of additional benefit which can be obtained has fallen and is only 78 per cent of that granted in the second valuation period. A few insuring units, it is true, 47 per cent covering 16 per cent of the total insured, can increase their benefit; 12 per cent covering 18 per cent of the membership can maintain the old rate; while reduction in additional benefits will be called for in the 26 per cent of the units covering 39 per cent of the membership; and in 15 per cent of the

units, applying to 27 per cent of the membership, additional benefits will have to be entirely dropped. These reductions seem a sure indication that in sickness we are not seeing that improvement from our scheme which attention to the falling mortality rates suggest to so many.

From the standpoint of the woman worker the seriousness of this is shown by the fact that while only 9 per cent of the men are to suffer discontinuance of additional benefits, 61 per cent of the women are now to be debarred from this advantage; and if the position does not quickly improve some societies will find that the whole of their surpluses are used up in the next few years in meeting the cost of ordinary benefits.

When we come to look further into the growing claims of women, we are faced with a special problem of married women. From 1923 to 1930 it was found that in a representative group of approved societies the sickness claims of unmarried women of all ages had risen 29 per cent, while those of married women rose 42 per cent between 1923 and 1927. For disablement the increases were respectively 34 per cent and 87 per cent. So serious is the position that the funds will not be able to continue to support even the reduced rates of sickness and disablement benefit now proposed, if the experience of these years proves to be an index of the future. Then either contributions will have to be increased or benefits reduced yet further in order to maintain a real insurance scheme.

Disablement benefit we must remember is only paid after the period of sickness benefit is exhausted. Claims to it therefore imply not short illnesses but long-continued ill health. Such benefit is now costing almost as much as sickness benefit (which includes all the short-period claims and a high weekly sum), so that the total of weeks of benefit for disablement is really equal to the total for sickness—and this, be it noted, when dealing with a group of people of whom only 15 per cent are over forty-five years of age. Here then is the problem—a remarkably high sickness claim among married women, of whom the majority are under thirty, and a very high rate of disablement claim among women as a whole, of whom 85 per cent are under forty-five. What, we may ask, is happening to our population that the young women are not only so often unfit for

work, but that their lack of fitness endures for such long periods; and again why is this specially true of the married woman?

To some extent the increase may be accounted for by the greater attention paid to ill health—the fact that a doctor is provided without further payment may cause many to seek advice who generally would not have done so. But such an explanation seems unsatisfactory when dealing with the problem of the growing claims to disablement benefit which indicates an increase in long-enduring illnesses.

How far the long-continued depression with the attendant high unemployment rate is a cause is again difficult to estimate. In view of the generous scale of unemployment benefit which has prevailed during the period under review, it is doubtful if there has existed a sufficient degree of deprivation to account for this. On the other hand, it may be that when work is slack people are more ready to give in to small ailments, but this would place the blame upon the lax certification on the part of the doctors. That they are in some cases responsible for allowing an undue number of claims, and for not signing people off as quickly as they might, is evidently the opinion held by some of the chief officials responsible for the administration of the scheme, an opinion which is only arrived at after a careful study of the available data.⁴ But the doctors' position is not an easy one, for most of their per annum patients are engaged in occupations where if they work at all they must put in a full day. Many people after illness are quite fit to do half a day's work, but since this would be unacceptable in most employments the doctor is more or less compelled to continue his certificate until he feels sure that his patient is fit to endure the strain of a full week's work. That all doctors should take into consideration the type of employment in deciding whether or no to continue the certificate is most important, for

⁴ The Scottish Department of Health states in a circular letter that from a scrutiny of cases there is a tendency for them to last for periods of seven, or multiples of seven, days. The frequency of such cases being out of all proportion to those ending on intermediate dates. This bears out the impression "that the issue of Final Certificates may be deferred till the lapse of a complete week following the issue of a previous certificate, with the result that benefit is paid for several days in circumstances where a more correct habit of certificate would have rendered such payment unnecessary. . . . Payment in respect of one extra day per claim in Scotland involves . . . an expenditure of approximately £40,000."

every day in which benefit is paid unduly takes from the chance of some other person obtaining assistance who truly needs it.

Having made some allowance for malingering and lax certification there are still greater causes—social, economic, psychological—which are contributing to the present problem. A study of the sickness rates and claims of many societies approved under the Health Insurance scheme in England, Scotland, and Wales shows that Wales stands below both England and Scotland in the average surplus per member insured, a fact attributed by the Government Actuary partly to occupational influence, and largely to the effect of the coal strike and the general strike of 1926. This explanation is further supported in that in all three countries the societies with apprehended deficiencies were those insuring large numbers of miners, where the claims both for sickness and disablement were considerably above the estimated claims, those insuring miners alone by 138 per cent for sickness and 154 per cent for disablement, while the averages for the whole body of insured men in the same period were 92 per cent and 80 per cent respectively. Not only this, but an examination of units insuring partly or wholly miners shows a 60 per cent increase in the case of sickness benefit in 1926, as compared with the previous year, and a fall of nearly 40 per cent in 1927, while for the whole population of insured men the percentage increase in 1926 over 1925 rose by only 16 per cent, and fell only 3 per cent in 1927. As the Government Actuary pointed out, such facts indicate clearly that there were special causes affecting the sickness claims of miners in the year 1926, and, further, that these causes practically ceased to operate in 1927.

We have, of course, to remember that strikers are not entitled to unemployment benefit, and that consequently during the strike they must rely upon relief from their trade union. Failing that, they must fall back upon relief from the poor law—now called “Public Assistance”—or relief from voluntary funds. The dislike of applying for the former would naturally produce an incentive to seek other means of support, and it would appear from the figures quoted that a means was found in going sick. But while saying this it must be remembered that the effect of an unsuccessful strike on the mentality of the people is quite likely to produce that type of hopelessness which in

its turn causes resistance to be lowered and thus makes the individual a fertile field for straying germs. However we look at it, we see here an industrial or social cause of ill health. These disputes are a heavy drain on the productive capacity of the country, and by their indirect effect on health this drain is greatly increased.

Can the influence of economic causes seen in the case of miners be the explanation of the growing sickness claims of women? The economic position of women has, as a whole, improved considerably since the war. Our sweated industries which employed so large a proportion of women workers have to a large extent been dealt with by the Trade Boards Act, and some 3,000,000 individuals whose wages are determined by Trade Boards are now assured a minimum wage, and about 70 per cent of these are women. While we do not for one moment assume that the wages of women, and their conditions of employment, are all that they should be, the improvement is sufficiently marked to lead us to expect that better health would certainly result. In so far as low wages were a cause of ill health it would seem that this cause has partly ceased to operate, yet, during a period of rapid improvement in conditions of employment, sickness rates steadily rise.

The case of domestic servants is particularly interesting, for here the improvement in working conditions is universal, yet this is coincident with a steadily growing number of claims on the part of domestic workers for sickness benefit. When the Insurance Act was first passed, the health of domestic servants was so good that they wished to be insured in a special unit so as to obtain extra advantages to which their low sickness rate seemed to entitle them. Now it is found that they are becoming a heavy burden on the insurance funds, and it is difficult to discover why their health should show this backward tendency. Whether it is the result of the great increase in daily service is impossible to say, but it is possible that this has much to do with the problem, for we know that the homes to which they return at night are often far from healthy; overcrowding in bedrooms exposes them to various infectious germs, and this, coupled with the fact that the freedom they so much desire in the evenings is freedom often badly spent, may quite likely have a deleterious effect upon their health. The domestic worker of the past often retired to bed

early and her hours though long were regular—whereas now, on leaving her daily work for the joy of spending the evening in an ill-ventilated picture house with her best boy, she is living a less healthy, even though to her a more enjoyable, life.

Further, it may be that now more fields of employment are open to women the dislike of domestic service may result in only the less fit entering this occupation, which would to some extent explain the increase in claims. Unless some social causes of this kind can be shown to account for the increase, we shall be driven to assume that there is a sort of unconscious malingering going on of a type that doctors find difficult to recognize.

Are there then any other causes by which we can account for the high rate of sickness among women, and especially among the married?

In the case of the heavy sickness claims of the latter, a cause may be found in the excessive strain of trying both to run a home and a family, and to engage in some regular wage-earning occupation. We must remember that Health Insurance statistics only give us information in regard to the sickness among married women who are independently insured; a low standard of health among them by no means proves a similarly low standard among married women as a whole, and unfortunately we possess no accurate data from which we can compare the relative health of the married woman who devotes herself to her home and her family with the woman who tries to do this while carrying on outside paid work. Men are not subject to this double strain; if they were, we might see a very different result in their sickness rate. But should this be the explanation of the high rate of claims of the married women, then it would seem that an educational campaign is needed in order to impress upon them the risk they are taking, and to persuade them that if the family finances are such that the mother's earnings can be dispensed with without the physical welfare of the family suffering, both for their own sake and that of the family the mother should not engage in work outside the home.

There are further reasons why married women should be dissuaded from engaging in paid labor unless necessity compels them to do so, for many of them are untrained for work and enter the labor market

in a somewhat amateur manner. Frequently they only wish to earn for a short time, during a period when their husbands are either out of work or only able to obtain very irregular employment. In consequence they are ready to accept a wage which a woman who was dependent on her earnings would be compelled to refuse; they are, in fact, a cause of a large supply of cheap labor and they tend generally to depress the level of women's earnings.

It seems particularly hard on the single woman, that having to meet the competition of the married, who often have other resources, they are next to discover that their sickness benefit will be reduced largely because of the heavy claims to benefit made by the married women. If the competition of the married keeps the wages of all women at a low level, the single woman's health is likely to suffer from her inability to obtain a wage which affords her a sufficiency of necessities which make for general efficiency. To add to her difficulties by reducing her sickness benefit when the reason for the reduction appears to rest so largely on the heavy claims of the married seems hardly just.

The lot of the single woman is hard enough, with no man to whom she can turn for help when misfortune befalls her; no children to whom she can look for assistance in her old age. And thus, whether the claims of the married are justified or not, it should be recognized that their benefits are coming from funds subscribed by other groups of the community, who, but for so heavy a call upon the funds, might be entitled to further additional benefit, or relieved of the burden of such high contributions. In fact, a good case can be made for separating the funds obtained through the insurance of married women from those of other sections of the community, and granting them benefits in accordance with the experience of their special class.

Preventive medicine must, however, go farther than mere adjustment of claims to benefit, it must seek the causes of the increase with a view to their elimination. A high sickness rate among wage-earners is a serious loss to the productive capacity of the country. If we estimate the time lost through illness it is found that while in 1920 the lost time in weeks, due both to sickness and disablement, amounted to a total of a little over 14 million, the figure has risen to 29½ million by 1929—an increase in lost time of 60.2 per cent meas-

ured in sickness claims, and 231.1 per cent measured in disablement claims. By some this appalling increase is attributed to psychological causes—the effect of industrial developments producing a feeling of inferiority.⁵ A great part of our unemployment at the moment is connected with the fact that we today produce the things we want with a much smaller man power, so that men get the feeling that our modern life is so organized as to enable us to dispense with human labor, satisfying our needs by mechanical devices. Side by side with this has been the remarkably rapid rise in our standards of living—a rise which has tended to give to thousands a vision of a totally different life, a life which is to their minds much fuller.

The tendency is toward the equalization of incomes, which does not at the moment produce contentment; it serves rather to make men out of harmony with their environment. Struggling into a social class for which they are not truly fitted, they suffer frequently undue nerve strain, for they become faced with the type of anxiety that has so often been the lot of those apparently better off, without the tradition which may help them to meet the situation. And so we find that sickness is largely a matter of the indefinable ailments so baffling to the doctor and so likely to mean certification as unfit for work. Debility, anemia, nervous ailments, rather than organic disease, are characteristics of today—ailments essentially bound up with the hurried, crowded life of the modern city. And these ailments will continue and develop and become a heavy burden if we cannot inculcate a frame of mind which means a balanced outlook.

Since the war it seems that our sense of values in Great Britain has gone all awry. All classes pay too much attention to appearance, the importance of which we need not deny. Rush and excitability are so general, calm so frequently absent. Our feverishness is shown in the love today of noise. To sit quietly, to meditate, to idle: that is the gift we have lost. Small wonder is it then that we find men and women nerve-wracked, find them losing that true spirit of independence, ready to give themselves up to their ailments instead of fighting them. The fact that today sickness and disablement benefit can be

⁵ See *British Medical Journal*, II (August 1, 1931), 179-82, "Industrial Problems from the Standpoint of General Practice," by Dr. Leonard P. Lockhart, for the statistics just quoted.

drawn, irrespective of arrears, which have accumulated owing to inability to maintain contributions during a period of continued unemployment, means that our Health Insurance Fund is becoming a second line of defense, something to which we may turn when no longer entitled to benefit under the Unemployment Insurance acts. This was not foreseen when the Health Insurance acts were first passed, and if preventive steps are not taken, a wearied people, worn out by the pursuit of excitement, will before long—through their consequent sickness—have reduced the Health Insurance finances to the position in which our Unemployment Fund has recently fallen. And if these economic conditions, which render men and women so out of harmony with their environment, are coincident with a social policy which seems to preach a philosophy of determinism, then it may be that the tendency to attribute all failings to causes outside the individual's control will in its turn produce a backboneless people, ready to give in, hopelessly neurotic, "enjoying bad health."

There is a further psychological cause which should not be forgotten. Our campaign of prevention has led to a much more widely spread knowledge of disease and its causes. Our authorities, in the belief that forewarned is forearmed, pursue a policy which may tend to increase our nervousness. We are informed that a measles epidemic is due, told what steps to take as soon as a probable symptom appears; or it may be that it is influenza that is expected, and its visit is heralded in the press just as though it were some royal personage, and we have explained to us exactly what etiquette to observe when one so important, and one with so widespread an influence, visits our little Island. May not the result be that the little knowledge is the proverbially dangerous thing, and that our minds in consequence tend to harp more and more on illness rather than on health, so that those who have made Prevention their God may find that they are undoing with the left hands the work which with their right they have been so busily weaving.

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CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON RELIEF STANDARDS

A CONFERENCE on the maintenance of adequate relief standards was held at the University of Chicago on November 18, 19, and 20. This conference was called by the American Public Welfare Association, in co-operation with the Public Administration Clearing House,¹ and the University's School of Social Service Administration. The conference included men and women from different parts of the country representing various public welfare departments and some private, especially national, associations. Among those attending were Mary Irene Atkinson, Ohio Department of Public Welfare; Paul V. Betters, American Municipal Association; Mrs. W. T. Bost, North Carolina Board of Charities and Public Welfare; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago; Allen T. Burns, Association of Community Chests and Councils; W. S. Carpenter, Michigan State Welfare Department; Mollie Ray Carroll, University of Chicago Settlement; Carl Chatters, Municipal Finance Officers' Association; Helen Clark, University of Wisconsin; Richard Conant, Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare; Frederick I. Daniels, Syracuse Department of Public Welfare; Elizabeth S. Dixon, University of Chicago; Calvert L. Estill, Virginia State Department of Public Welfare; Edith Foster, Wisconsin Unemployment Service; Virginia Frank, Chicago Jewish Social Service Bureau; Samuel Goldsmith, Jewish Charities of Chicago; F. H. Hoehler, Cincinnati Department of Public Welfare; David H. Holbrook, National Social Work Council; Russell H. Kurtz, Russell Sage Foundation; Katharine F. Lenroot, United States Children's Bureau; Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare; H. L. Lurie, Bureau of Jewish Social Research; Frederick N. MacMillin, American Municipal Association; Joseph Moss, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare; Florence Nesbitt, United Charities of Chicago; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington, D.C.; Mrs.

¹ These two associations, with several related organizations, are located adjacent to the University Quadrangles and maintain co-operative relations with the University.

Clara Paul Paige, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare; Frank Persons, American Public Welfare Association; Florence Peterson and Marie Dresden, Wisconsin State Industrial Commission; Walter Pettit, New York Temporary Emergency Relief Commission; Rose Porter, Family Welfare Association of America; Dr. Ellen C. Potter, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies; Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, Chicago Immigrants' Protective League; Clarence E. Ridley, International City Managers' Association; Amelia Sears, Cook County Board of Commissioners; Marietta Stevenson, American Public Welfare Association; Florence Sullivan, Loyola University School of Social Work, Chicago; Linton B. Swift, Family Welfare Association of America; Lea D. Taylor, National Association of Settlements; Wilma Walker, National Association of Visiting Teachers; Walter West, American Association of Social Workers; and the three signatories of the call, Frank Bane, of the American Public Welfare Association, Louis Brownlow, of the Public Administration Clearing House, and Edith Abbott, of the School of Social Service Administration.

There were no formal papers read at the sessions, which were entirely devoted to rapid informal discussions of the present relief policies and what could be done about them. Lower standards of relief and relief administration have been frequently defended on the ground that very limited funds are available. The conference attempted to work out other methods of finding more adequate sources of relief instead of acquiescing in the adoption of lower standards.

Relief budgets at their best were only barely adequate, and lower standards therefore mean subminimum budgets. To use subminimum budgets at a time when very superior clients are driven to the relief agencies seems very harsh. The statement made in the conference that lower relief standards were justified because funds were very limited was met more than once by the reply that the particular association which had been quick to adopt the lower standards had made no effort, for example, to secure federal funds when the La Follette-Costigan Bill was before the Senate. The policy of discontinuing rent payments, for example, was adopted by many large agencies last January without any effort being made by those responsible for this policy to secure the federal funds that might have been made available at that time.

Professor Simeon E. Leland, of the Economics Department of the University of Chicago, responded to a request to discuss the whole subject of taxation—local, state, and federal—and his very illuminating address was one of the high points of the conference. Fortunately, a stenographic record was made of Professor Leland's discussion. At the urgent request of the editors of this *Review*, he has consented to the publication of these somewhat informal notes.

DR. LELAND (professor of economics, University of Chicago): I was introduced to this chore last night by my maid. I got home shortly after nine o'clock, and she said I had to appear this morning in the Justice's Court at ten o'clock. I found that my friend, Frank Bane, had perpetrated that. I do not know but that I would have been just as willing to go to the other place!

This is not to be a speech, for I, frankly, have no speech to make. All I can do is make some rambling remarks and give some general impressions that I have on the situation.

Let me say, first of all, that the problem of relief is a federal problem and is not a problem for the loaning of federal credit to states, but is a problem for the use of federal credit by the federal government with direct federal aid to states and localities.

In support of that general proposition, let us look at the financial set-up of our local governments and then of our states, and, finally at the financial set-up of the nation.

If we analyze the local fiscal systems we find, first of all, that they are primarily dependent on the property tax for the bulk of their revenues. Some 60 odd per cent of the revenue receipts of the cities of over 30,000 come from property taxes. In the smaller governments the proportion is even greater, until, as you go down in the size of cities, you find that many municipalities are forced to raise as much as 90 per cent of their revenues from property taxes.

These taxes have been based on inflated valuations of the boom days, and now are quite oppressive to property owners. Whether or not the general level of property taxation should be scaled down beyond the level of reductions indicated by declining valuations is a question that must be frankly faced by most people, simply because the real estate interests have become articulate in their demands for tax reduction; and, in some places, that warps practically everything the government can do, and completely obstructs any constructive changes in fiscal systems. They have the notion that the primary object of relief is relief of the property owner, little realizing that the only relief they are probably entitled to, aside from an

adjustment of valuations, is a changed distribution of future taxes with reference to the percentage of revenue that comes from property, rather than a reduction from each individual's tax bills. The two are by no means the same.

From a social point of view, it seems to me that the kind of reduction to which they are entitled is one where a declining percentage of the aggregate revenues will continue in the future to come from property taxes, but one which does not necessarily imply a marked reduction in present real estate taxes, because of the fact that the present level of real estate taxes has been largely anticipated and has entered into the price calculations of purchasers, many of whom bought the land tax free, and hence any reduction in the level of individual tax bills confers a bonanza on individual real estate owners and will tend to advance their property values in general.

It is, first of all, necessary for those of you who meet the problem of improving the financial predicament of the localities to see that clearly. It does not solve the problem of need of additional sources of revenue. There are none that the government can impose with any degree of success. They cannot adopt municipal sales taxes or municipal gasoline taxes or impose municipal income taxes, nor can that be undertaken on a county basis.

The obvious effect of a city sales tax is to increase the number of transactions outside the city limits. The same thing is true of the municipal sales tax, ignoring completely the fact that most units of local government are so small that they cannot adopt the kind of administrative systems that are necessary to make these taxes a success. They are infinitely more difficult to administer than property taxes, and require a degree of specialization and skill and full-time employment. To maintain that service, the requirements are such that it makes it difficult for local governments to secure proper personnel. The only source open to the government, open at the present time, to assist them in meeting their increased financial burdens, is a share in state collected revenues. The only way they can get that is by making clear the municipal right to a share of those revenues.

In the past we have assumed that that government which can best administer a tax is entitled to the proceeds from the tax, but it should be clear that there is no necessary connection between efficiency of administration and the right to revenues from taxes. Taxes should be distributed according to need, not according to the governmental unit which can best administer the tax.

It requires no argument to demonstrate, I think, that the property tax

itself which is the primary source of local revenue can be better administered by the state than by the locality; and if it followed that the government that can best administer the tax is entitled to the proceeds, you can completely strip all local governments of practically every source of revenue, save, perhaps, some few miscellaneous fees and charges which they make for services which they alone perform.

The only hope for the improvement of the local revenue system is by increasing the share which comes from the state; and that share ought to go to the localities, not upon condition, but as a supplement to general budgets to be spent any way the municipality sees fit, because otherwise a balanced local revenue system is not possible; and it is just as essential—in fact, is more essential—that the localities have a balanced revenue system as that the states have one. The financial obligations of a local government are more important from a fiscal point of view, and the services performed for the taxpayers are more important than those rendered by the state government. Ordinarily state functions are either for the purpose of equalizing opportunities throughout the state or for providing facilities between governmental units or for undertaking the direct performance of functions in areas too small to maintain local governments on an adequate scale, rather than functions which are of a necessarily direct vital interest to the taxpayer.

The only reason you have state roads is because local governments could not build a connected road system. Every time the limits of a political jurisdiction ended, the road ended with a bump or with the roads not being connected. The same thing is true with reference to education. The state enters into the educational field largely to correct the inequalities due to lack of taxable property in many political jurisdictions; so it makes state aid for that purpose. It undertakes the direct performance of the functions where the localities are too poor to provide them. In general, those are the functions which the state performs.

The locality, on the other hand, administers to the more vital wants, as you yourselves know, and the aggregate amount of their budgets is much larger than that of the states. The fact of the matter is there are eight cities in the United States which spend more money per year than the state governments which contain them; and if you add the figures up, I think you will find that a little over \$2,000,000,000 is spent by the state governments, that the federal government spends \$4,000,000,000, and that something in excess of \$6,000,000,000 is spent by the other units of local government, mostly cities, about half of which is spent by the two or three hundred cities in excess of 30,000 inhabitants; so you can make, I

think, a strong case for the direct sharing of state revenues by the local governments.

Now, I am generally opposed to allocating state funds to local governments only for specific purposes, because that policy makes impossible the task of local budgeting. Budgeting should be a matter of the evaluation of needs, not the creation of a vested interest in funds; and good causes like education and charities or any other cause, if it once gets its hands on a source of revenue which is set apart for it, tends to receive it constantly, regardless of need. Sometimes it will get too much. Many times it will not get enough, but the proposition becomes closed and the budget balancing operations become infinitely more difficult.

If we can pass over that for a moment, I think we can see the difficulty in which the local government finds itself, with nothing to do but increase the property tax, the inevitable consequence of which is to lessen the tax collections so that there is no source of revenue for local governments for meeting this problem in an adequate way. It is not their problem anyway. The problem is national in scope. Trade and commerce are national in character, no longer local. The depression is not a thing that has affected a single locality; the consequences are national; and if, anything, they were largely produced by the action and inaction of the federal government; so that, if you want to let causal sequence play a part, you can again throw the thing on the doorstep of our largest and most capable political unit.

Let us look at the states: In general the states have poor revenue systems. There are a few of them, such as New York and Wisconsin, that have fairly well-balanced systems, but the bulk of the states rely for a large part of their receipts (practically 50 per cent) on the property tax, which is also a source for local governments, and it is supplemented by taxes upon corporations and inheritances, miscellaneous transactions, gasoline sales, and the like.

Approximately half of the states have adopted state income taxes, but the degree of elasticity possible there is very limited; and in a time such as this it is undesirable from every point of view to increase the level of taxation which finds its way into increased costs of production and increased commodity prices. That means that practically the only thing you can increase without such effects is the personal income tax, and those taxes can be increased, considering the total of state and local rates in some states, only if you have no great consideration for the taxpayer. His income has already dwindled, making the burden of normal taxes more severe than it was before; and with the taxes which he must pay on other

bases taken into account, it by no means follows that the elasticity in the local income tax is as great as has been assumed.

The result is that you have a choice of taking more money out of the pockets of the taxpayers and thereby increasing the costs of doing business and the costs of living and retarding the return of business prosperity, for all advances in cost at such a time have that effect. Or, you have the problem of using local or state credit to finance the operations of the state governments. Those possibilities are rather limited. The states have not a great deal of borrowing capacity. Most of them are limited by constitutions adopted before the Civil War, when our forefathers anticipated all the problems that would now beset us and adopted very narrow debt limitations, which in most cases have become so inflexible that the limit of indebtedness has long since been exhausted and all the subterfuges have been perforce multiplied to their limit. Hence the probability of dodging those requirements by the creation of new political units to hold the debts of present existing political units and by imposing upon them other political units to purchase and hold their debts—a theoretical possibility employed in practically every state in order to get away from those requirements—likewise is very, very greatly limited.

So the state is largely confronted with the alternative either of making conditions worse by the adoption of improper taxes, such as production taxes, sales taxes, or taxes upon the various commodities that enter into trade and production, or of placing the problem on the federal government, upon whom I said it belonged in the very beginning. You cannot continue the process of placing the burden upon state and local governments without expecting dire consequences to follow.

It is my personal conviction that all this loaning of credit by the federal government to the states must sooner or later be thrown back on, or absorbed by, the federal government. It is ridiculous to assume that the federal government will decrease its grants-in-aid for road purposes. Wait until 1935 comes and there is imminent danger that the road programs will stop, and then the proper way to handle that will be by increasing the appropriation by enough money to absorb all existing advances; and that I would seriously suggest and recommend. And, regardless of whether it is recommended, I think well of it.

That does not solve the problem today; it puts the matter of federal aid entirely upon the wrong base. Federal aid should not be granted on condition of repayment by extraction of taxes from people who have little or no ability to pay, which are those now reached by state and local government. Instead, the tax should be placed on the entire nation, where the ability to adjust the tax system, the capacity to pay, practically alone

exists; and the job should be placed upon the federal government rather than upon state and local governments.

Now, let us look at the federal government for a minute. What can the federal government do? It is faced with a deficit of perhaps \$2,000,000,000, and is running more and more behind in balancing its budget. Every time it tries to calculate its budget, it includes as a charge against current revenues all the loans of its own credit which it has been making to states, cities, and private corporations. About thirty-five hundredths of the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have been loaned to governments. By the end of September it was about \$35,000,000 out of the \$1,500,000,000.

That is a small amount of federal credit to have been advanced to local governments, but the difficulty is in assuming that those are charges properly to be paid out of the cash revenues of the federal government. Those are emergency appropriations for one thing, and they are loans for a second thing; and if they are to be repaid or are not to be repaid, they should not be charged as cash items against a budget which is out of balance and which should not be balanced by the Treasury Department.

In addition all expenditures for public works are charged up for the purchase and construction of assets which shall be available over a long period of time; all the permanent appropriations are charged up, and the excess of these may go on for a good many fiscal years. It is one thing to set up reserves of that character in a time of prosperity; it is a vastly different thing to set them up in a time of depression; and so you have all that talk about the federal government's budget going so badly behind, exaggerated by the inclusion of items which never should be calculated in the balancing of a federal budget in a time of depression.

Now, what can the federal government do with its revenue system? It can increase the income tax without affecting costs of production or the price of commodities. It can impose a series of sales taxes such as it has done, increase the prices of products and decrease the amount which the public will purchase, and, incidentally, get a lot less revenue than the Treasury Department expects to get, which is exactly the thing that is happening. I do not know the figures; but if they had notified me before last night, I might have secured some figures to illustrate this. But I think I have stated what is happening, so that you have a choice in the federal government between making the depression worse by an ill-chosen tax policy or by helping industry out of the depression by an expansion of public borrowings.

That is the thing that it resolves itself into, so far as I can see. And

when you say that the federal government can borrow, you are told by the bankers whose doors have been kept open by federal credit that they have no money to lend, and the Treasury Department objects to increasing the rate of interest upon governmental obligations, although the rate has been steadily declining since 1922, because any advance in the interest rate will tend to decrease the price of existing securities.

Well, now, it takes no reason to assert, or no intelligence to assert, that if the market rate of interest is going up those loans are going down, and they are going down willy-nilly, and irrespective of Treasury acts; and so, having relied upon the banks as our fiscal agents, and having seen the door to federal credit shut in our faces, after having kept the banks open by repeated advances of government credit, the only thing that remains to be done is either for the federal government to get some new fiscal agents or go out and sell its loans to the public.

That can and should be done. It is ridiculous that a government that takes only 20 per cent of the national income in taxes (that is all that is now taken)—that a government that only takes as little as that—cannot get enough money out of the hundreds of millions of national income on a basis of loans, to supply the credit needs and relieve the demands of the country. It is just too ridiculous to deserve credence. And the demand of the market for credit will appear whenever the Treasury Department offers the proper interest rate for its loans, and the day of exhaustion and the point of exhaustion in federal credit has certainly not yet arrived; so that it seems to me that, as far as the federal government is concerned, the problem is rather simple—that it can, without the imposition of arduous taxes which will prolong the depression, finance the relief demands of the community by placing a larger share of its budget upon a borrowing basis rather than upon a tax basis; and whether it wants to or not, this is going to happen. The Federal authorities will not be able to balance their budget; they will have to borrow; and it would be infinitely better that they do it intelligently than that they be forced to do it as a last resort.

Are there any revenue devices that the federal government might get which would help it in this emergency? The first thing it can do is reduce its tariff; it not only must do that if it expects to receive anything upon its war debts, but it likewise must do it from the selfish point of view of stimulating our own trade, and every reduction in the tariff will be accompanied by increased revenues through customs duties to the Treasury.

Then, next, it may get some revenue from beer, but the possibilities of that do not run to the several hundred million dollars that the Investment Bankers Association have optimistically and hopefully assumed can be

derived from this source. Of course, if we really want to go into that kind of taxation, probably the best thing we could do is to impose taxes on tea and coffee which, of course, would fall on the poor man's breakfast table, but would be better than general sales taxes which the Treasury Department and certain vested interests now continue to advocate.

Then there is the possibility of refunding a substantial portion of the outstanding public debt, some \$6,000,000,000 of the Fourth Liberty loan, carrying a higher interest rate than that at which the Treasury is now borrowing. Modest savings for relief purposes could be made here. You have some of these possibilities; but none of them, it seems to me, are adequate to meet the situation except the increased use of public credit.

If you undertake public works projects—if the Reconstruction Finance Corporation can only stimulate some localities to ask for self-liquidating loans—you can get a lot of credit that way; and the R. F. C. can properly loan on that basis, and should so loan. But aside from some of those possibilities, the only thing that the federal government can do is to increase its use of, and its reliance upon, its borrowing capacity in this time of need.

During the last eleven years the federal authorities have only retired their public debt some \$3,000,000,000 more than the sinking-fund schedule required, and have not yet exhausted that reserve. The public debt now stands at about \$20,000,000,000, whereas its maximum limit was around \$25,000,000,000 at the close of the war. Surely the return of prosperity and the insuring of some degree of permanent peace within our own borders is an ample excuse, and will provide a market at least, for the \$5,000,000,000 worth of credit up to the maximum which we had during the war, and so it seems to me that we need to strip ourselves of a lot of the bugaboos that have been peeking at us from around the lobby corners and elsewhere, and to face the problem fairly and squarely; but now is not the time to increase taxes, but the time to borrow; and borrow we should and borrow we must.

Other high points of the conference were Mr. Bane's account of the federal-state relief situation, Father O'Grady's appeal for the maintenance of wage standards in relief work, and Miss Katharine Lenroot's discussion of the problem of migrant children.

Members of the conference frequently expressed the hope that new plans would be worked out that would make possible the maintenance of adequate relief standards during the fourth winter of unemployment. Moreover, wise planning at this stage may yield per-

manent results in the way of better public welfare organization—local, state, and national. Mr. Louis Brownlow, of the Public Administration Clearing House, who acted as chairman of the conference, appointed four committees whose reports were finally adopted almost unanimously by the conference. The four committees were asked to deal with the following subjects: (1) "Financial Resources" (Father O'Grady, chairman), (2) "Administration of Relief" (Dr. Potter, chairman), (3) "Adequacy of Relief" (Mrs. Liveright), (4) "Provision for Transients and Non-residents" (Miss Lenroot, chairman). The four reports follow:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Unemployment relief is a fundamental government responsibility. It is a responsibility that must be shared by all units of government—local, state, and national. We have been too much inclined to think about unemployment as a local responsibility. Most of our local units of government have exhausted their loan and credit resources in providing relief during the depression. Many of them had built up a huge bonded indebtedness during the years of prosperity and were therefore ill-prepared for the present emergency. No matter what we may think about the fiscal policies of our county and city government in the past, they cannot go very much farther in bearing the largest part of the burden of relief without imperilling other essential services, or perhaps reaching the point of bankruptcy.

More than 60 per cent of the cost of local government is derived from taxes on real property. It is impossible to secure any additional revenue from this source. In fact, real estate cannot possibly carry its present load. Under financial pressure, local governments are cutting their expenditures for such essential services as education, health, recreation, and child care. If some outside assistance is not forthcoming, they are liable to cut their essential services still more. In their predicament the local governments are looking to the states for a share of state tax funds. In a number of states the part of the proceeds of the gasoline tax has been diverted to local communities for relief purposes. Assistance from this source can at best be temporary. The gasoline tax, moreover, was intended primarily for road-building and maintenance, and its diversion will further aggravate the unemployment situation.

The federal government has to date made no direct appropriations from federal funds for unemployment relief. However, thirty-five states have

secured loans through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Eight states have made direct state appropriations for relief, five of these having also borrowed from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, while three of these relied entirely upon state appropriations.

Forty legislatures will meet in 1933, and all these legislatures must give serious thought to unemployment programs. They should consider how far unemployment is a responsibility of industry. In many states unemployment insurance will be considered and adopted. There will be the question, moreover, as to how far state funds can be secured for relief of the unemployed.

Many legislatures will find their taxing powers limited by constitutional provisions. Only about two-thirds of the states have authority to levy income taxes. They will find it difficult to levy additional taxes on corporations. Some of them may find it possible to increase their inheritance taxes or authorize the flotation of bond issues. As a rule, the credit of the states is much better than that of the local communities.

There is probably no state in the union that cannot assume some share of the financial responsibility for unemployment relief. The assumption of financial responsibility by the state will aid very greatly in developing a state-wide program of unemployment relief. It is bound to assure better standards in the administration of relief.

Citizens in general should urge their legislatures to take such state action as will qualify the particular state for loans under the federal relief and construction act now in effect. By doing so, they will also remove obstacles that now lie in the way of further assumption of federal responsibility.

As the burden of unemployment relief increases, it is becoming more and more evident that the largest part of it must be borne by the federal government. We must look to Congress for larger appropriations.

After all, unemployment relief is fundamentally a national responsibility. The volume of unemployment is affected very materially by the policies of the federal government. It is only when Congress recognizes its direct responsibility for unemployment relief that it will be ready to adopt other and more constructive methods of dealing with the problem. Congress has not yet recognized its direct obligation for relief of unemployment. It has established a policy of loaning funds to states and local communities only after their resources available for this purpose have been exhausted. This policy is liable to jeopardize other essential government services. The federal government must assume a direct responsibility for unemployment relief. The credit resources of the United States govern-

ment are not exhausted. We cannot be satisfied as a people merely with the prevention of starvation. The United States government is responsible for seeing to it that those who are out of work through forces over which they have no control must be provided for according to decent standards. The federal government must assume the leadership in dealing with unemployment.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF

The present nation-wide need of relief and welfare services is created by lack of employment of millions of wage-earners, owing to no fault of their own.

The report of the Committee on Administration deals primarily with the administration of relief and welfare services made necessary by the breakdown of the industrial system.

Before proceeding to that subject we wish to make the following statement:

The most constructive relief of unemployment is work. Every effort should be made to return the unemployed person as quickly as possible to employment. To this end an adequate, co-ordinated, and professionally staffed system of local, state, and national employment exchanges is absolutely essential, operated upon a high level of social standards and individualized treatment. This system of exchanges must work in close cooperation with relief agencies, labor organizations, and employers.

Public works should be stimulated, but not beyond the limits of sound planning or to the point of exhaustion of local credit.

When placement in regular industrial employment or on public works is impossible, work relief is to be undertaken as wisely as possible, but with the recognition of the larger costs of work relief and its limited possibility in providing employment.

Relief, through work relief, should not be administered in such a way as to undermine wage standards. Current rates of wages should be paid on all work-relief projects. Industry should not be permitted to divert its responsibilities to relief organizations public or private.

In view of the widespread and unprecedented need for relief the Committee on Administration presents the following principles which, in the judgment of this Conference, should be followed in the organization and administration of relief and social services to meet the present situation and which should become the goals for the future organization and administration of public relief.

I

The major responsibility for the relief of destitution rests with government. This responsibility can only be met adequately by the active participation of the federal, state, and local governments.

All participating agencies should establish effective means for the development and maintenance of efficient standards of administration.

II

An effective state administrative unit should be established for the direction and supervision of the expenditure of all state and federal funds appropriated or borrowed for relief purposes.

Federal and state funds should be made available to local units upon a basis of need, rather than on population or wealth, and should be so administered as to stimulate adequate and effective welfare programs.

Local units should be of such area and population as to lend themselves to effective administration. In most of the states the county is the smallest practical unit for public welfare administration. Unification of public welfare services in both state and county is necessary to secure efficient and economical administration.

III

Public funds should be administered *only* by duly established and properly organized public agencies.

IV

In any appropriation for relief, a definite allocation of funds for administrative purposes should be included in order to insure proper standards of administration.

V

Public welfare administration is a technical function of government and includes types of services which require properly prepared, qualified personnel.

Personnel standards are a primary concern of all state and local welfare system and can best be attained by stressing education and experience rather than residence.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADEQUACY OF RELIEF

Adequacy of relief is defined as the maintenance of wholesome, normal life, including health and morale, for families and unattached individuals. Adequate and proper food, necessary clothing and medical service, and decent shelter are the first essentials to be provided. Hardship is relieved

only if this is done. A sufficient number of competent, experienced personnel is essential to any program of adequate relief.

Food.—Adequate minimum food schedules have long been available according to the make-up of families on a food-unit budgetary basis, price conditions being determined by the locality. Departures below these established food budgets mean that subminimum allowances are in effect. The interpretation or modification of accepted food budgets or the setting-up of new food budgets by other than qualified nutritionists is dangerous.

In addition to normal diets, special diets are essential where there are health conditions which warrant extra or special foods, especially where such are recommended by physicians.

All possible economies in the administration of relief are urgent but must not be pressed to the point of destroying the values of relief to the recipient. Such economies have been developed by organizations experienced in the administration of relief.

The commissary system of food relief is questioned, in that experience has not been sufficiently tested to prove its greater economies, while there is abundant evidence to show its excessive costs in human values. It is recommended that food allowances be made in cash or in grocery orders supplemented with cash.

Shelter, heat, and light.—One of the most demoralizing factors in family life is insecurity of shelter and fear of eviction. Decent housing is imperative, with the regular payment of a reasonable rent. No less imperative are provisions for light, water, and fuel and the equipment necessary for cooking and heating. Mass housing and the doubling-up of families as a means of economy are condemned.

Clothing.—Clothing indicated by the prevailing climate, in sufficient quantities to preserve health and maintain self-respect, is a necessity. Clothing suited to the individual needs of members of families and adapted to special needs of persons seeking work should be furnished. Dependence on secondhand clothing is uncertain and unsatisfactory. New clothing is a legitimate and necessary measure of relief.

Medical care.—Adequate medical and dental services and supplies should be provided, not only as a treatment of present suffering, but as a preventive of accumulated health costs in the future.

Cash.—Finally, there is ample evidence that great suffering is caused by rigid budgeting which does not allow for the minor necessities of family life, health, and the maintenance of children in school. For this reason, if relief is mainly in kind, some cash allowance should be included in each budget.

Community resources should be organized to render regular continuous assistance to those in distress so that they should not be subjected to the insecurities of uncertain relief funds or to the interruption and delays which may be avoided if relief programs are adequately planned and effectively administered.

It is the obligation of the community, not alone to offer relief measures to those who have made their needs known, but to develop methods of reaching promptly all those in distress, who, through lack of acquaintance with existing facilities or lack of understanding that such facilities are legitimate sources of assistance, have failed to make their needs known.

The present organization of relief is haphazard in character. Within the same state, frequently, in the same community, there are great variations in standards of relief, ranging from a fair degree of adequacy to meager subsistence and in some instances to a virtual neglect of individuals and families. There is needed a national basis of responsibility which shall accomplish a general adequacy of relief provisions in accordance with minimum approved standards of living.

Adequate relief, defined here as "essential," must be accompanied by opportunities and services provided to sustain the cultural and social bonds which are necessary to individuals and to stable family life. Health, recreational, and educational services are necessary to make relief itself effective and must not be sacrificed in community programs in the effort to find means for the relief budget.

Standards similar to those discussed above should be applied to the relief of the unattached individual.

The inevitable human and economic costs in illness and individual and family demoralization and disintegration will be avoided through provision of such adequacy. To provide other than adequate relief is a shortsighted and tragic false economy.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR TRANSIENTS AND NON-RESIDENTS

This report is concerned with the problems of transient and homeless non-resident families and individuals. In numbers mounting into the hundreds of thousands at least, these family groups, men and boys, and in smaller numbers, women and girls, are traveling from place to place, riding the freights, hitch-hiking or walking, or using dilapidated "flivvers." Coming from every state in the Union and traveling from east to west, from north to south, and in reverse directions, their numbers are so large as to create serious problems for most parts of the country and utter-

ly to overwhelm the areas of greatest concentration. The committee recognized the importance of the care of the resident homeless, but did not include them in its report, preferring to concentrate its attention on the non-resident and transient groups, since they involve especially difficult questions of intercommunity and interstate relationships, and constitute a problem truly national in scope.

The report of the committee is divided into five sections, dealing with the nature of the problem, its social consequences, preventive measures, methods of care, and the administrative and financial responsibility of the different governmental units.

I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Pre-depression experience.—The transient and migratory family or individual is not a type new to American life. Mobility has always been a marked characteristic of American civilization. Increased numbers leading a roving life followed earlier depressions; but migratory families, men, and boys were in evidence also during periods of prosperity. The committee has listed the following as illustrating something of the extent and diversity of the transient or migrant problem prior to the period of the present depression: (1) the chronic wanderer; (2) the migratory laborer and the migratory family, following the crops, or migrating from place to place to perform other types of seasonal labor; (3) families and individuals lured to new sections by local booms or the opening of new industries, and failing to find expected opportunities; (4) rural-urban migration; (5) migration in search of health; (6) families and individuals adopting a migratory life because of some social disaster or a spirit of unrest (i.e., automobile gypsies); (7) runaway children and youths.

In so far as the problems of these groups were met by organized social resources, it may be said that the first two groups—the chronic wanderer and the seasonal laborer—were served mainly by shelters and missions and that the other groups received case-work service including, according to formal agreements, transportation back to the place of legal residence when proper arrangements could be made and when the welfare of the family or the person would be promoted by such a plan.

Effect of present depression.—In the past three years there has been a tremendous increase in the volume of transients, and a marked change in the types of persons and groups that are traveling. The chronic wanderer is receiving new recruits from the other groups and, as time goes on, from those who under ordinary conditions would never have taken to the road. Decreasing opportunities for self-maintenance are available to the migra-

tory laborer and his family. There is an ebbing tide from areas of former "booms" and from city to country. Scarcity of work, discrimination by employers (public and private) against single young men, hopelessness in regard to possibilities of normal economic and social life, and family destitution and inadequacy of relief (including, especially in the case of families, non-payment of rent followed by evictions) have given rise to quite new types of transients who, but for unemployment, would have been stable, self-supporting constituents of the communities which they left. In addition to these classes of unorganized transients there are organized groups traveling with definite objectives of securing political action to meet their needs. With the special problems of this last group this report does not attempt to deal. Because of their overwhelming numbers and heavy burdens carried by local communities in relieving their own residents, approved practices of dealing with transients have, for the most part, broken down; and in general, procedures for meeting their needs in any comprehensive, constructive way have not been developed as yet.

Characteristics of transient population.—There has been an increase in the transient problem among all age groups, and particularly among boys under the age of twenty-one years. Last spring estimates showed that 20-25 per cent of the transients were under twenty-one, and indications are that this proportion is increasing. Many of the boys and young men have had good educations, having completed high school, and even college in a considerable number of cases. They come, as a rule, from a higher type of family, with a more stable social background, than the transients of pre-depression days. Social workers, police, and railroad men state that the overwhelming majority of young transients are boys who would be at school or at work under normal conditions. They come, in large part, from unemployed families, often from destitute families without means from relief or other sources for adequate food or other necessities of life. There is an increase of family transiency, and probably (though definite evidence on this point is not at hand) in transiency on the part of unemployed married men who have left their families in search of work or because of feelings of inadequacy, humiliation, or discouragement. A minority of the transient youth are impelled mainly by motives of restlessness or adventure which, it has been suggested, may find expression with less social opprobrium under present conditions than in normal times.

Transients are traveling by freights for the most part; and railroad officials are using methods of utmost leniency in dealing with them, because of the overwhelming size of the problem. Regular freight schedules

are often posted at railroad terminals on the outskirts of cities, in the "jungles" adjacent to these terminals where many boys and men camp. Hitch-hiking has also increased. Evidence as to families migrating in their own automobiles is not available.

II. CONSEQUENCES OF THE TRANSIENT MODE OF LIFE

Among the individual and social consequences of the transient problem, the committee has listed the following: (1) Physical hazards, including fatal accidents, especially in connection with "riding the freights"; crippling; diseases due to exposure, lack of cleanliness and sanitation, vermin, contagion or infection, including influenza, pneumonia, and, undoubtedly in serious proportions, venereal disease; and depleted physical condition due to exposure, undernourishment, lack of proper clothing and shoes. (2) Demoralization and disintegration of morals and morale, personality and character, including loss of habits of application and work; absence of any stabilizing social relationships or normal affection; lack of vocational opportunities; association with chronic wanderers, degenerates, and criminals. (3) Shifting of burden of care away from natural resources to new communities, with concentration in areas too small or too unorganized to meet the problem, but attracting transients for reasons of climate or railroad facilities. (4) Panhandling costs.

III. PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The committee submits that the social costs indicated above, particularly those involved in the physical, economic, and social demoralization of youth, are so great as to constitute a serious challenge to communities, states, and nation, and to require more adequate methods of meeting the social and economic needs of young people in their home communities. The committee recommends with reference to:

Local communities.—(1) Development of increased community awareness of the problems of unemployed youth and of migrating families, among case-work agencies, schools, group-work organizations, employment, and vocational, cultural, and recreational, interests. (2) Provision of more adequate opportunities for young people by these agencies and interests, with emphasis on the necessity of finding opportunities for boys and girls, as well as heads of families, in work relief programs, and for more adequate direct relief, including especially provision for rent.

State and national agencies.—(1) Reinforcing local programs, giving leadership, guidance, and in some cases financial assistance. (2) Undertaking specific responsibilities with reference to: (a) redistribution of sur-

plus labor through carefully worked-out experimental programs and through employment exchanges; (b) review and revision of settlement legislation and policies as to residence requirements.

IV. METHODS OF CARE

While an increasing number of communities are developing more adequate ways of dealing with certain aspects of the transient problem, evidence indicates that for the most part the handling of transients is characterized by the "passing-on policy," under which shelter and food are limited to periods ranging from twelve hours to a few days, at most, and by absolute failure to reach a large proportion of those traveling. Other characteristics of transient life, except as temporary care is found in communities with fairly adequate facilities, include: (1) shelter only such as is found in rude camps or "jungles" on the outskirts of cities, in jails and police stations, or in shelters maintained by religious or social organizations, many of them poorly equipped to provide for the large numbers coming for care; (2) monotonous diet lacking in some of the food elements necessary to maintain health, often a diet limited mainly to beans and bread; (3) lack of cleanliness, sanitary facilities, and medical care; (4) absence of segregation of young boys from older and hardened men; (5) lack of facilities for registration, consideration of individual problems, and return home or rehabilitation; (6) absence of any facilities for the wholesome use of time in reading, recreation, study, or work; (7) exposure to demoralizing influences.

The committee recommends the following as essential features of a more adequate program: (1) Development and maintenance of adequate standards of shelter, food, clothing, and medical care. (2) Provision for individualized service, including registration, interviewing, and return of those who can be provided for in their home communities. (3) Constructive opportunities for those who cannot be returned and should not be passed on with a view to assimilating them as fully as possible into the life of the new community, including, (a) living arrangements through boarding-homes, clubs, special lodges, or camps; (b) opportunities for education, work, and recreation.

V. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING

The problem of transients, both families and unattached men, women, and youths, is a problem of the local community, the state, and peculiarly, by reason of its nature, of the nation. Though much private service is given, the problem, by reason of its size and character, is essentially a

public problem requiring planning and co-ordination, financing, and administration by governmental agencies.

Local responsibility.—The problem of the transient must be met in the first instance by the local community where the transients are found. The local community must function, however, in relation to state and national planning, with participation of other units of government. Local provision includes: (1) adequate temporary care and case work service; (2) continuous care on a selective and voluntary basis.

State responsibility.—(1) Promotion of state-wide policies to stop passing on from one community to another within the state. In this connection the Massachusetts experience in assumption of state responsibility for cases without local settlement is worthy of study and consideration. (2) Participation in planning, execution, and financing of local programs, with a view to promoting adequate care throughout the state. (3) Development of interstate settlement and removal policies which will be in line with modern standards and meet present needs. In this connection the committee suggests the possibility of co-ordinated efforts during this year, to secure revision of state settlement laws and laws relating to interstate transportation of poor and indigent persons. There are also important possibilities in interstate and regional conferences and agreements as to reciprocity, removal policies under existing legislation, and proposals for new legislation.

National responsibility.—The transient problem is essentially national and public in character and size. The responsibility of the federal government includes the following: (1) primary responsibility for planning, development of standards, and financing in accordance with general policies of unemployment relief; (2) direct responsibility for financing, on a grant and not a loan basis, when state or local responsibility cannot be allocated.

SOURCE MATERIALS

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RELIEF ACT

EDITORIAL NOTE

IN THE autumn of 1931 Governor Pinchot called the legislature of Pennsylvania in special session, naming in his message a number of subjects with which he thought the legislature should deal. Among these was unemployment relief. The governor had worked out a definite program, which he recommended to the legislature, but that body rejected his plan and enacted a law containing a different provision appropriating \$10,000,000 to the Department of Welfare, and assigning the distribution of the fund to the local poor law authorities. There had been much discussion of the constitutional limitations under which such appropriations might be made, and a friendly suit was instituted to put at rest all doubts concerning the powers of the state and local authorities in relation to the act. The court decision resulted in the statute being upheld, in accordance with reasoning set out in the following opinion.

The constitutionality of the act was attacked on various grounds, some of which were technical and can be ignored here. Some of the points, however, are of much interest to social workers, and those sections of the opinion of the Court which contain the discussion of such subjects is given at length. There were, in fact, three opinions handed down—one the opinion of the Court, the second a concurring opinion by Justice Maxey, and the third a dissenting opinion.

No quotations are made from the last opinion since the points were all noticed and answered in the opinion of the Court.

The Governor's message and the statute are so fully stated in the opinion that they need not be summarized here.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA
MIDDLE DISTRICT

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA *ex rel.*
WILLIAM A. SCHNADER, ATTORNEY GEN-
ERAL,

v.

ALICE F. LIVERIGHT, SECRETARY OF WEL-
FARE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYL-
VANIA, CHARLES A. WATERS, AUDITOR
GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF
PENNSYLVANIA, AND EDWARD MARTIN,
STATE TREASURER OF THE COMMONWEALTH
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

No. 16, May Term, 1932.

Appeal from the Judgment
of the Court of Common
Pleas of Dauphin County.

Opinion of the court, J. Kephart:

Appellants, the Secretary of Welfare, the Auditor General, and the State Treasurer, appeal from the award of a peremptory mandamus, directing them "to perform the duties imposed . . . by the Act" of December 28, 1931, P.L. 1503. The question involved is the constitutionality of this Act. It was sustained by the court below, and this appeal followed.

The Governor, by proclamation, duly convened the legislature in special session, and it passed the act now in question. . . .

Art. III, Sec. 25, of the Constitution reads:

When the General Assembly shall be convened in special session, There shall be no legislation upon subjects other than those designated in the proclamation of the Governor calling such session.

Was the legislation within the nineteen subjects designated in the proclamation?

This constitutional provision contemplates that there shall first exist in the executive mind a definite conception of the public emergency which demands an extraordinary session. His mental attitude or intention is expressed in his proclamation, the purpose of which is to inform the members of the legislature of subjects of legislation, and to advise the public generally that objections might be presented if desired. It is not only a guide or chart with respect to which the legislature may act, but also a check restricting its action so that rights may not be affected without notice. The proclamation may contain many or few subjects according to

the Governor's conception of the public need. While the subjects may be stated broadly or in general terms, the special business as applicable to the general subject on which legislation is desired should be designated, by imposing qualifying matter to reduce or restrict. . . .

While the legislature must confine itself to the matters submitted, it need not follow the views of the Governor or legislate in any particular way. Within the special business or designated subjects submitted, the legislature cannot be restricted or dictated to by the Governor. It is a free agent, and the Governor under the guise of definition cannot direct or control its action. . . .

With this general survey of the matter in mind, we now discuss the Governor's proclamation. The court below stated that though none of the subjects designated by the Governor "included an appropriation of money such as was made in the Act of Assembly before us," as the entire proclamation stated one broad general subject, "unemployment relief," any legislation germane to that subject might be considered. The governor, by his proclamation, had indicated nineteen specific subjects of legislation, six of which related to unemployment relief. Unemployment is a broad and difficult subject and its relief more so. To be helpful as a designated subject for legislation at a special session, it would need some specialization, in the absence of which almost every kind of legislation might be indulged in by the General Assembly. . . .

The preamble to the proclamation is an expression of the motive which impelled the Governor to act, and recites that "the first duty of the Commonwealth is to safeguard the people and to make secure the lives, the liberties, and the happiness of men, women, and children." It goes on, "The right to work for a living is part of the right to live," and sums up, "the welfare of the people in this Commonwealth, as in the United States at large, is endangered by the prevailing unemployment, which has deprived one quarter of the workers of Pennsylvania of the opportunity to earn a living and this fact constitutes a binding obligation to act upon every unit of government, from the least to the greatest." To act on what? The answer is obvious, unemployment, the subject the Governor had been speaking about, and which was depriving one quarter of our workers of the opportunity to earn a living. This was obviously his major purpose in summoning the legislature. It was not his whole purpose as other matters were submitted, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that unemployment relief was the chief thought in the governor's mind. Did the Governor, in carrying out this purpose, submit such subjects for legislation as sustain Act 7-E?

The subjects as related to the preamble, are as follows:

"The creation of a State Commission . . . [to] cooperate with counties . . . and poor districts in affording relief to the unemployed and their families"; An act "authorizing counties . . . and poor districts . . . to negotiate emergency loans for unemployment relief"; "authorizing counties . . . and poor districts to levy taxes and expend money for unemployment relief"; "permitting local authorities under certain conditions to postpone tax sales during periods of economic depression and unemployment"; "making new appropriations to . . . any department . . . of the state government . . . to enable additional projects to be undertaken which will give work to the unemployed."

These channels of legislation having been pointed out, did the legislature go beyond the call to such an extent as to make its Act 7-E invalid? The Act states that:

Conditions of unemployment aggravate the normal situation facing public authorities charged with the care of the poor. Sec. 1 that . . . "in the assumption by the Commonwealth of its duty to the care of the poor, the sum of \$10,000,000 is hereby specifically appropriated to the Department of Welfare for payment to political subdivisions charged by law with the care of the poor." Sec. 2 provides: "The Department of Welfare shall make an allocation . . . of the monies . . . on a ratio that the estimated number of unemployed persons in a county bears to the estimated total number of unemployed persons in the entire Commonwealth." Sec. 4 provides: "Each political subdivision charged by law with the care of the poor shall have authority . . . to expend the moneys received from the appropriation made by this act for the purpose of providing food, clothing, fuel and shelter for residents within their district who are without means of support."

It is urged that the Act does not give unemployment relief, but poor relief, and in this view is not within the call. What is meant when the Governor's call states a "commission . . . [to] cooperate with . . . poor districts *affording relief to the unemployed*" and an act authorizing "poor districts to levy taxes and expend money for unemployment relief"? The Governor's call shows his intention to be that unemployment relief should be taken up by poor districts and that the state should aid them. The powers of poor districts are and always have been limited to furnishing support, food, clothing, fuel, and shelter, to poor persons, persons without means of support, and to no others. The only possible way open to a poor district to furnish relief to the unemployed would be when the unemployed were poor persons within the law. The Governor did not intend, nor did his call include, an unlawful purpose or one prohibited by the Constitution; he did not intend to include the unemployed who had means of sup-

port, the unemployed who were not poor persons under the law. Such being the consequences of his deliberate acts he must have meant unemployment relief in the sense of poor relief as it was the only relief the poor boards could give. When the Governor used the term "unemployment relief" in connection with poor districts, he meant persons who were unemployed and without means of support, or poor persons, and the relief to be given was poor relief.

The legislature, recognizing the Governor's idea was that unemployment relief should be handled through the poor districts, aided through borrowed money and a State Commission, decided that aid could be more promptly and effectively given through an appropriation as in Act 7-E. The fact that the Act may include in addition to the vast number of unemployed without means of support, or poor persons, a small number of poor persons who are such from other causes, should not invalidate the Act as being without the call especially as the Governor well knew in suggesting poor districts furnish unemployment relief that such class must of necessity be included. It does not introduce a new subject as unemployment relief meant poor relief and such inclusion was clearly within the legislative power.

The legislature determined to do this in Act 7-E by using existing agencies of the State and counties, and to furnish aid to the unemployed through the poor districts, as the State agency. The legislature used its own method of accomplishing the Governor's purposes designated in the call. . . .

The Act was proper under the subjects as stated, and there was another part of the call which authorized an appropriation for new plans to give work to the unemployed. Turning again to Sec. 4 of the Supplemental proclamation, we find the legislature may make "new appropriations to . . . any department . . . of the State government . . . to enable additional projects (plans) to be undertaken which will give work to the unemployed." Construe the word "work" as synonymous with the word "relief" in the light of the preamble and the subjects above mentioned in which unemployment relief was the dominant purpose. It does not strain the imagination to say that "give work to the unemployed" may include provisions enabling the unemployed to secure work by taking care of their bodies. A man's ability to work depends upon his physical condition. A man that is starved is not able to work, and the first step to bring him into condition to work is to feed him. The word "work" may well be used in the sense of relief, and is so used, and since the words "unemployed" apply to those who have no sustenance on which to live, then this subject

covers the Act. The tenor of the call being unemployment relief, which is poor relief, this thought naturally follows. . . .

Art. III, Sec. 18, of the Constitution provides:

No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association.

It is the contention of the Attorney General that Act 7-E violates this provision of the Constitution in that the counties or poor districts which receive the money must be classed as communities, having been so defined by this court; that an appropriation to be used in the discretion of such recipients is an appropriation for a charitable or benevolent purpose; and further, that relief to the poor is a matter of local concern.

May these contentions be sustained in light of the construction which the above section of the Constitution has received by this court? Act 7-E provides for poor relief. Is this a proper subject for legislative action? In *Busser v. Snyder*, 282 Pa. 440, where we considered an old age pension act, we held that the test for persons entitled to poor relief was, were they persons without means of support? The Act there provided for discretionary payment of \$1.00 a day to those of seventy years or upwards whose incomes did not exceed \$365.00 a year and whose property did not exceed in value \$3,000. An effort was made to bring this class of persons under the poor laws, but we held that the persons entitled to old age pensions by that Act were not poor persons within the meaning of our poor laws (i.e., persons without means of support); certainly not where the Act included citizens able to help themselves, who had estates up to \$3,000 and incomes up to \$365.00 a year. It does not require much imagination to show the contrast between the persons considered in *Busser v. Snyder*, *supra*, under the Act of 1923, and those entitled to relief under the poor laws. We further held in that case that the money proposed to be given under the old age pension was a benevolence and that the persons who were to receive it were persons or a community within the Constitution. The terms, person or community, were not limited to a single person or place, but were used in an inclusive sense relating to groups or classes of persons wherever they might be in any part of the State. We held the Act unconstitutional as an effort to give the State's bounty to a definite class of persons who had means of support, and if Act 7-E was a parallel to that Act, we would unhesitatingly decide the same way. But it is not.

As pointed out in *Busser v. Snyder*, *supra*, there is a vast distinction between the two subjects under consideration in so far as they relate to the

constitutional prohibition. Poor persons, as understood by our laws, were always considered in an entirely different aspect from members of the public who had means of support. We will here again briefly discuss what we there stated as to keeping those historically known as poor persons, which was as follows:

There is no direct prohibition against the use of state money to pay for the care and maintenance of indigent, infirm and mentally defective persons, *without ability or means to sustain themselves*, and other charges of like nature. They become direct charges on the body politic for its own preservation and protection. *As such, in the light of an expense, they stand exactly in the same position as the preservation of law and order.* To provide institutions or to compensate such institutions for the care and maintenance of this class of persons has for a long time been recognized as a governmental duty and . . . such appropriations may well be sustained on this theory.

This was said in defense of appropriations to non-denominational and other institutions and persons, a comparison having been drawn between the use of State money as provided for in the old age pension act and the use of State money by hospitals, old age homes, for treatment of poor persons. To expend money for such purposes has long been recognized as a function of government, only the manner of its *administration* is restricted by Sec. 18 of Art. III. *Busser v. Snyder, supra*, restates what was said in *Collins v. State Treasurer*, 271 Pa. 428, 433, as to the use of the State's money and the intent of the constitutional prohibition. Then later on (in *Busser v. Snyder*), speaking on the same subject, the use of State money for the poor, we said:

The thing which for more than two hundred years fixed the charge [poor relief] on the Commonwealth was the fact that . . . [some of its people were unable] to support themselves . . . [were] without means of support. The Constitution of 1873 recognized this condition as a public liability. Nothing is said therein prohibiting, interfering with or controlling the performance of the duty.

We also held in that case that the old age pension act could not enlarge a class (the poor) well known to those who adopted the Constitution and who knew of the government's responsibility for their keep.

We again held in *Collins v. Martin*, 290 Pa. 388, that the care of the poor as generally understood was a fixed governmental duty similar to the enforcement of law and order. It was there contended by our distinguished Attorney General, citing *Busser v. Snyder, supra*, that "An appropriation to enable a branch of the state government to perform a governmental duty is not an appropriation for charitable purposes," even though it was

worked out through a sectarian institution. We held that while there was a duty, whether it be absolute or discretionary, it could not be performed in a manner prohibited by the Constitution. So as not to confuse the performance of the government's duty with the manner of performance, we there said:

Whether the charitable work is compulsory or discretionary, the performance is controlled by the Constitution. No function of government can be discharged in disregard of or in opposition to the fundamental law . . . the performance of a function or duty can not take place in [a] prohibited way.

The intent of these (constitutional) provisions was . . . to forbid the state from giving . . . to a religious sect or denomination . . . the money of the people . . . for administration or distribution [*Collins v. State Treasurer, supra*].

In those cases we refused to approve acts because the institutions affected were prohibited by the Constitution from receiving the money. We restated in *Collins v. Martin, supra*, what was said in *Busser v. Snyder, supra*, that the obligation of the government to care for poor persons was not a charitable undertaking any more than the performance of any other public function is a charity.

Considering the subject of this case, we find Act 7-E makes an appropriation for the relief of the poor. We again hold that the support of the poor—meaning such persons as have been understood as coming within that class ever since the organization of the government, persons who are without means of support, the same persons stated in the Talbot Bill, Act 7-E—is and has always been a direct charge on the body politic for its own preservation and protection; and that as such, in the light of an expense, stands exactly in the same position as the preservation of law and order. The expenditure of money for such purposes by the State is in performance of a governmental function or duty and is not controlled by the constitutional provision, if the purpose is to supply food and shelter to the poor, including those who are destitute because of enforced unemployment, provided only that the money be not administered through forbidden channels.

The appropriation in providing for relief of poor comprehended those who have been forced into that situation through enforced unemployment; they having no means to support themselves. From this cause the ranks of the poor have increased so rapidly as to stagger the people of our State. The fact that their numbers are swollen through unemployment does not change the established concept of poor persons. To hold that the State may not under the Constitution now aid such people even though it be a

governmental duty, would be to deny to the State the right to perform not only an important but, at this time, a most pressing governmental function. To hold that the State cannot or must not aid its poor would strip the State of a means of self preservation, and might conceive untold hardships and difficulties for the future. It is no answer to say that the people generally should take care of the situation; whether they are or are not able to do so, does not relieve the State of its duty. The framers of the Constitution never intended that the instrument should deprive the legislature of this power. We have so held in *Collins v. State Treasurer, supra*; *Busser v. Snyder, supra*, and again in *Collins v. Martin, supra*. The State has these many years recognized the duty by building or aiding in the maintenance of insane asylums, hospitals for treatment of the mentally and physically deficient poor and has given other poor relief. But when the unemployed, with ability to work, have work offered to them and they, without good reason, do not work, they are not poor people entitled to support within the poor laws of this Commonwealth. The poor authorities cannot furnish relief in any form to such persons. When work is offered such unemployed, they have the means of support, and neither the State nor the poor district would be permitted thereafter to keep, maintain, or support such persons in idleness or laziness; or further some other object equally as vicious. This would be true even if the families of such persons suffer because the one responsible for their maintenance refuses to work. It is the duty of every citizen, particularly public officials, to aid those entrusted with furnishing this relief to see that it is not given to those not entitled to receive it. If the poor officers violate their duty by furnishing support to such unemployed persons the State authorities may, through any agency, stop payments for such uses. The purpose of the State's relief is to furnish maintenance to poor persons including those who through enforced unemployment have no means of support, and not to those who have such means.

The Attorney General, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the State, concedes in his argument: "If in this case the court had before it an act providing that a State agency should supply food and shelter to those who are destitute because of enforced unemployment, and making an appropriation for the purpose, we should not be here urging the court to strike it down as a violation of Article III, Section 18, of the Constitution." He urges only that a county cannot do this, that it is contrary to the Constitution because the payments are discretionary with the county authorities. But this objection will not avail. This being a governmental duty, it can be performed by the government, or by one of its delegated

agencies or by an agency not prohibited by the Constitution from performing it.

Having twice decided that appropriations to perform obligatory public duties or functions are not charities or benevolences, we again hold that the State in performance of its governmental duty to take care of the poor is not forbidden by Art. III, Sec. 18, either directly to assume this obligation, or to permit and/or aid one of its subsidiaries of government to perform it, or to have it performed by an institution not forbidden by the Constitution. As long as these channels are kept clear, constitutional inhibitions will not disturb such acts.

Answering further the appellants' position, the Act is intended to cover poor relief all over the Commonwealth, it was not limited to any particular locality. It embraces all persons within the historical definition of the term. There is no discrimination. When the legislature directed the money to be given to the Department of Welfare, with certain duties to perform and then in turn selected the poor districts as a governmental agency to secure proper distribution, the State has within its hands the right and power to compel its proper administration. The Act has not raised subordinate municipal bodies over their creators. Moreover, the State frequently selects county officials as agents to perform governmental duties. The officers of the poor districts in counties were selected as the most efficient means of administering the fund, and the territorial lines of the counties, which ordinarily limit the jurisdiction of such officers, limit their administrative powers as State agents over the fund. But people who receive it in one county are the same type of people who receive it all over the State, that is, poor people without means of support. Therefore, the administrative officers, the poor directors of the county, in administering this fund, are not communities within the letter or spirit of the Constitution, and as the persons affected are poor persons, in every town, city, and hamlet in the Commonwealth, they are not within constitutional limitation.

Moreover, *the persons who are handling the money can be compelled by the courts to see that it is properly administered* as directed by law. Mandamus is a powerful remedy and the Attorney General may compel a return to the State Treasurer of moneys not properly spent and may force the officers of the poor districts to spend it in the way the sovereign dictates,—that is, for food, etc., in relief of poor persons. The State does not lose control over the money; if there should be any abuse of the powers granted, most likely an enraged public will compel obedience through the courts. That the Act called for an audit by the auditors of the subdivi-

sions does not prevent the State within its general powers from making its own audit. . . .

Art. III, Sec. 7, of the Constitution states, "The General Assembly shall not pass any local or special law . . . regulating affairs of counties," and Art. III, Sec. 34, permits the legislature to classify "counties." Appellants contend that to the extent that the Act requires certain county officers to procure information regarding unemployed persons in their districts, it regulates the affairs of these counties, and to the extent that it imposes a like duty on the Welfare Department of Philadelphia, it regulates the affairs of the City. The commissioners of fifteen counties out of sixty-seven are required to perform this duty; Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are the only cities.

There is no unconstitutional classification. The Act appropriates funds to all political subdivisions charged with the care of the poor. No one in particular is singled out. As we said in *Sugar Notch Borough*, 192 Pa. 349, at p. 356:

It is the settled law since *Wheeler v. Phila.*, 77 Pa. 338, that classification based on genuine and substantial distinctions is within the constitutional power of the legislature, and an act which applies to all the members of the class is general and not special.

The officers selected are the officers of the poor districts throughout the State. The mere fact that in some counties that office may be filled by the commissioners, and in others by poor directors, in a few other districts, by overseers of the poor, and in the City of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh by the Department of Welfare, does not present a case of unconstitutional classification. The bill says the State is "assuming its obligation to care for the poor," and it proposes to do it through poor districts. The Act does not regulate the affairs of counties in imposing State duties on these officers, who are otherwise in control of the local affairs of their districts, the duties imposed being to procure the information and administer State funds. It is not a special Act regulating the affairs of any county. . . .

Relative to the allocation of the various amounts to the several districts as stipulated in the Act and questioned by defendants, it must be conceded that this subject is difficult, but difficulties cannot prevent an otherwise workable Act from being valid. An exact scheme or chart, perhaps, cannot be laid out, but no doubt the officers in control, in obedience to the law, will carry it out according to its letter and spirit, and see that speedy and equitable allocations are made. Other questions concerning this matter have been discussed in other parts of this opinion.

We are not troubled with the meaning of the words "shall have authority," which bother appellants. One thing is quite certain, that the money may only be spent for food, clothing, and so forth, and if it is not all spent for that purpose, it must be returned to the State. We doubt if this question will ever arise. As to the expenditure of any of these funds for persons other than those who are poor because of enforced unemployment, there is this to be said to the credit of our communities: At no time except possibly once or twice since the organization of the State have these districts ever been in a situation to require State aid. They have always been able to take care of the poor because their numbers were so very small, in proportion to the people in the county. Today this number has been vastly increased by enforced unemployment compared with those who were poor in normal times. As a practical matter the State support will not reach any of those who were poor before the increase in numbers, and the Act does not intend that it shall, but the county's money will be used to take care of these persons and to relieve the increased number of poor through unemployment. We have discussed this matter at this point as it is specially dealt with by the Attorney General, but it might well be read with the discussion of the same matter in connection with the call. From all that has been said, it follows that the judgment of the court below was correctly entered.

Judgment affirmed.

J. Simpson dissenting.

Concurring opinion, J. Maxey:

I concur in the majority opinion. It is conceded that in the governor's proclamation convening the legislature in special session he designated "unemployment relief" as the subject upon which legislation was invited. In response to this call the legislature after setting forth in a preamble that "present conditions of unemployment aggravate the normal situation facing public authorities charged with the care of the poor" appropriated \$10,000,000 to the Department of Welfare for payment to political sub-divisions charged by law with the care of the poor. I cannot view this legislation as so transcending the subject of the governor's call as to make it unconstitutional. . . .

Clearly it was not intended by the governor that the legislature should enact a law to relieve the unemployed rich. The unemployed poor was the subject to which the governor directed the legislature to direct its attention. The legislature responded by enacting a bill directed to the pecuniary relief of the poor of Pennsylvania. Surely this bill came "within

the scope" of the governor's call, it was "appropriate" so far as it provided relief for those impoverished by unemployment and it was "consistent with the letter and spirit" of the governor's call.

But it is argued that the act under review extends relief not only to those who are poor because they can obtain no employment but to those who are poor because of laziness, old age, sickness or inability or unwillingness to work, that the act is a poor relief act as distinguished from an unemployment relief act.

My answer to that argument is that while "poor relief" and "unemployment relief" may be technically different, as "secession" and "rebellion" were technically different, as Abraham Lincoln pointed out in his message of July 4th, 1861, calling congress into special session, yet under present conditions unemployment relief and poor relief are practically the same thing as secession and rebellion were practically the same thing, as Lincoln held them to be in 1861. When poverty affects no greater number of people than it affects in normal times, the local poor districts and other sub-divisions of government are able to take care of it as they have done almost immemorially. When the present widespread poverty arising from unemployment affects such large numbers of people that local sub-divisions are overwhelmed in attempting to cope with it, the sovereign commonwealth has to come to the assistance of the local sub-divisions as it did in the act now challenged. While it is theoretically correct to say that all of the poverty now prevailing in Pennsylvania is not due to unemployment, it is obvious that such a large major share of it is due to that cause as to make the remainder of it a factor of negligible consequence in considering the question before us. As a matter of fact, the phrase "unemployment relief" is much more comprehensive than the phrase "poor relief," for while there are many unemployed who are not poor there are practically no poor except those who are unemployed. When a person is "employed" in the usual sense it is a reasonable inference that he is self-supporting. Therefore the legislature in enacting a poor relief bill did not go outside the scope of the governor's call but kept within it.

The poverty that has now become a menace to the well-being and peace and good order of the Commonwealth is poverty born of involuntary unemployment and no one even suspects or hints any other parentage. While it may be true that some of the dollars appropriated by the Talbot Act will go to those who would be poor even if times were normal, it is equally true that vast sums of money have already been spent and will continue to be spent by poor districts to ameliorate the poverty which arises solely

from unemployment. So these sub-divisions are doing more than ameliorating normal poverty—they are attempting to ameliorate poverty which is not merely a local affliction but a menace to the entire body-politic. Under these circumstances the fact that some of the money expended by the Commonwealth may happen to ameliorate a little poverty not arising from involuntary unemployment is in my judgment no sufficient ground for declaring unconstitutional a poor relief bill which resulted from the governor's call for a special session to consider unemployment relief. . . .

I agree that the Talbot Act does not offend Art. 3, sec. 18, of the Constitution prohibiting appropriations for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes to any person or community. I hold that an appropriation of state money to combat widespread poverty arising from unemployment can no more justly be characterized as "charity" or "benevolence" than could an appropriation of state money with which to combat the plague should it be sweeping over Pennsylvania. Such an appropriation is not charity or benevolence but self-protection like the expenditure a father makes for the fundamental well-being of his own family. Expenditures that are made as a matter of self-protection or duty—such as, for example, an individual's expenditures for taxes and the support of his children—cannot properly be characterized as either benevolent or charitable.

The greatest menace to the well-being and safety of the state is for it to have hundreds of thousands of its citizens who are willing and able to work, yet who with their families are suffering from hunger and lack of clothing and shelter because no work is obtainable. An appropriation from an ample—not a depleted—public treasury to relieve this suffering is no more a "charitable" appropriation than would be an appropriation to suppress an uprising, repel an invasion or to combat a pestilence.

I find nothing in the Talbot Act that contravenes the Constitution.

NOTES AND COMMENT

FROM LOCAL TO STATE RELIEF

DURING the period since the World War there has been a marked tendency toward the development of state relief. The change has unfortunately not been the result of a well-considered attempt to reform the old poor law system but rather a slow and uncertain development of new funds for special classes—particularly for mothers' aid, old age pensions, and blind pensions.

These new statutory provisions for state relief for special classes have followed a recognition of the fact that, if the mothers' aid laws or old age pension laws were merely permissive, the county authorities would in many cases fail to make use of them. The inadequacy of local provision for these special classes should have made it clear long ago that other relief work in the hands of the local authorities was also inadequate as well as incompetently administered. But a great tragedy like the present depression was necessary to make us see the necessity for state relief funds in the general family welfare field. Since New York led the way in September, 1931, at least six other states have made state appropriations for unemployment relief.¹ The legislative sessions during the coming winter will be full of interest for social workers. Let us hope that, in many states, the old poor laws will disappear from the statute books and that new public welfare or public assistance laws will take their places. In the meantime, a summary of the state funds provided for unemployment relief from September, 1931, to September, 1932, has been called for and is presented² herewith:

¹ Three other states have been expending funds that are not unlike those which are listed. This special group includes:

California, which provided \$1,500,000 in April, 1931, out of a contingency fund, which was used for camps for unemployed workers. The fund was administered by the Department of Finance. This was not an appropriation like the funds in the other group.

Oklahoma, which appropriated \$1,000,000 in January and February, 1931, to be used for home relief and distribution of seed to farmers. This fund, which was rather for farm relief than unemployment, was administered by the governor and Emergency Relief Board.

Maryland, which had the sum of \$24,000 derived from a special racing day appropriated for unemployment relief with its administration in the hands of the governor.

² We are indebted to the U.S. Children's Bureau and the American Public Welfare Association for assistance in preparing this statement.

New York first appropriated \$20,000,000 September, 1931, by an increase in the income tax and then in March, 1932, an additional \$5,000,000. And authorized (March, 1932) a \$30,000,000 bond issue to be submitted at the November election; of this, \$15,000,000 to be available after the bond issue passed; the other \$15,000,000 of this bond issue to be available with the approval of the Legislature. The New York state fund is administered by the Temporary Emergency Relief Commission.

New Jersey appropriated \$9,616,033 in October, 1931, from the gas tax, motor vehicle and license fees. A \$20,000,000 bond issue was to be voted on at the November election. The New Jersey state fund is administered by an Emergency Relief Commission.

Pennsylvania appropriated \$10,000,000 through a bond issue in November, 1931—the funds to be expended under the Department of Welfare—and an additional \$12,000,000 in August, 1932, administered by the State Emergency Relief Board.

Rhode Island appropriated \$2,500,000 from the general and highway funds in November, 1931, to be administered by an Unemployment Relief Commission.

Wisconsin appropriated \$7,000,000 at a special session late in 1931—from an additional income tax and chain store license fees—to be administered by the State Industrial Commission.

Illinois appropriated \$20,000,000 in February, 1932—through the sale of tax anticipation notes. The Illinois state fund is administered by an Emergency Relief Commission.

Ohio passed laws providing for \$25,000,000 in April, 1932—from auto licenses, gas and utility taxes—to be supervised by a State Relief Commission.

Unfortunately, we are not able to furnish a list of the various states that are submitting bond issues at the election which will have passed before this issue appears. Among these states was New York with its \$30,000,000 bond issue about which the following excellent summary was issued on November 7 by Harry L. Hopkins, chairman of the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration:

For the first time in the history of New York, State funds for unemployment relief depend upon a bond issue. On November 8 the voters will be asked to approve Proposition Number 1, the \$30,000,000 relief bond issue, which has the endorsement of both Republican and Democratic parties.

Many requests for information about the bond issue have come to the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. As Chairman of the Administration I can report the following facts to voters who have not had access to sufficient information about unemployment relief in the State:

Since last November 1, the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration has disbursed approximately \$27,000,000 to cities and counties in helping them to relieve the hardships and suffering of their unemployed. These funds have been spent for Home Relief which means the furnishing of food, rent, light, shelter, heat, clothing and medical attendance, and Work Relief which means wages to persons employed on emergency work programs.

The extent of the need for State aid is shown in the fact that only 5 districts representing less than 1 per cent of the population of the State have not asked for State unemployment relief funds. State relief funds have been distributed carefully in reimbursement for relief bills paid locally by municipal authorities. The bills are sent to the Administration for auditing so that there may be a minimum of waste and inefficiency.

State relief funds appropriated by the Legislature are now exhausted, and State relief monies after November 15 depend upon the \$30,000,000 relief bond issue. If this measure is approved it will allow the State to reimburse by at least 40 per cent the money that cities and counties can appropriate for Home and Work Relief.

Cities and counties in asking for State aid point out that their main source of revenue is real estate taxation and that they are finding it impossible to finance current municipal needs out of real estate taxation and at the same time make adequate relief appropriations. Since the bond issue will be paid for by State sources of revenue which are many and not from real estate taxation they are urging its passage as a form of relief not only for the unemployed but for local taxpayers.

The increased numbers of unemployed applying for public relief and receiving public aid lead the Administration to believe that this winter will present an even more serious problem than last. During the past year the State relief system, through State funds and city and county relief appropriations, gave aid for a longer or shorter time to 1,500,000 persons, or one out of every eight individuals in the State. The State funds of \$27,000,000 represent about 45 per cent of what was spent through the public Home and Work Relief bureaus. In meeting the problem this winter we have every reason to believe that more unemployed will be needing relief than last year and that more money must be spent.

FEDERAL RELIEF AND THE R.F.C.

SOcial work has, in general, supported federal relief for two reasons: First, because it became clear in the summer of 1931 that local funds could not be raised to meet the most elementary relief needs for the great numbers of people whose exhausted resources were driving them in large and ever larger numbers to the various relief agencies. Social workers knew that such a tide could not suddenly be stopped and that vast sums would be needed during the winter of 1931-32. For social workers know the costs of decent relief-giving. Social workers also knew that, in princi-

ple, there was no reason for clinging to the old doctrine of "local relief" in our archaic poor relief laws. Some of them began to look forward promptly to the abolition of the old "pauper" legislation, for the word "pauper," which is so objectionable to social workers, is still used in our statute books. In place of the old "pauper" laws there must, of course, be a working out of a new comprehensive system of public assistance. Our professional group also look forward promptly to broadening the sources of relief funds not only from the old town and county to state levies but beyond the theory of state help to a new doctrine of federal aid.

The long struggle for the La Follette-Costigan Bill need not be recited here. That battle was both lost and won. It was lost because the United States Senate voted down the bill in February, and our unfortunate clients did not get the decent relief which they should have had. But the battle was won, as far as social work was concerned, by the very fine record made by our professional group in their testimony, on record for all time in the published *Congressional Hearings*, in support of an adequate measure of federal relief to be administered by social workers in the best traditions of public service for which our profession has been distinguished.

But our present concern is not with what we lost by not getting the La Follette-Costigan Bill in February but what we finally got in July, how the system works (or doesn't work), and what can be done about it.

The desperate condition of the great northern cities and the industrial areas everywhere and the cumulative distress in all kinds of employment—together with the desire of both political parties to face the approaching campaign with favorable records—finally forced Congress to act before its adjournment in midsummer. Federal relief was at last provided in the omnibus "Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932," a compromise measure called "An Act to relieve destitution, to broaden the lending powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and to create employment by providing for and expediting a public-works program." By this act federal relief including family relief was given into the hands of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Under Title I of the Act, which covers "Relief of Destitution," the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make available out of the funds of the corporation the sum of \$300,000,000 to be allocated to the several states and territories for "furnishing relief and work relief to needy and distressed people and in relieving the hardship resulting from unemployment." The first section also provides that the governors of the various states are to be the agents through which the Corporation is to

act. The application for aid must be made by the governors and payment is to be made to the governors.

The next section provides that the sums granted from the \$300,000,000 are to be loans to the states instead of grants-in-aid out of federal funds. These state loans bear interest at 3 per cent. More than this, iron-clad security for these loans is provided by requiring that annual deductions may be made from future federal aid to the states for the construction of highways and rural post roads. These deductions from the federal-state road fund will begin July, 1935, and will be made annually at the rate of one-fifth of the amount then owed by each state including accrued interest. Repayment will therefore be completed by the year July 1, 1941.

The next provision, which deals with the applications to be made by the governors, has been so narrowly interpreted by the R.F.C. that it may be well to quote it in full (the italics are ours).

I (c). The governor of any State or Territory may from time to time make application for funds under this section, and in each application so made shall certify the necessity for such funds and that the resources of the State or Territory, *including moneys then available and which can be made available* by the State or Territory, its political subdivisions, and *private contributions*, are *inadequate to meet its relief needs*. All amounts paid to the governor of a State or Territory under this section shall be administered by the governor, or under his direction, and upon his responsibility. The governor shall file with the corporation and with the auditor of the State or Territory (or, if there is no auditor, then with the official exercising comparable authority) a statement of the disbursements made by him under this section.

It is clear that if the Corporation wished to adopt a narrow policy, this provision would make possible the withholding of the funds that were so sorely needed. That is, under this act the Corporation could have moved in either of two directions (1) providing relief promptly where it was clearly needed, with adequate safeguards as to its proper expenditure; or (2) doling out an inadequate fund in small amounts in the hope that people would be fed and clothed by the local authorities. The Corporation in adopting the second plan followed the general policy of the present administration in holding relief to be a local responsibility and in being more concerned with upholding this so-called "principle" than in meeting the dire needs of the people.

Social workers cannot accept this decision of the Corporation. The welfare of the families of the unemployed is our responsibility, and the obligation lies upon our professional group to try to make Washington see

the necessity for a new interpretation of the present emergency relief law and to secure new funds under a better act when this initial \$300,000,000 is gone. The cruel privations suffered by decent, once self-respecting people all over this country are known to the social work group as they cannot be known to members of the R.F.C. or to any other political body.

Local relief has become a shibboleth of the politicians who are afraid of the mounting costs of the American form of the dole. But although we were told over and over again during the campaign that no one was to be hungry and cold this winter, social workers know that there are thousands of people very hungry and very cold and exceedingly wretched today and every day in every state in this country. In the old days local relief took care (rather inadequately) of local problems; but the present disaster is national, not local. Whatever benefits there may have been in local administration may be preserved under the grant of federal funds administered under local public departments or boards as has been done very successfully in most states by the R.F.C.

Social workers are urged to secure a copy of the Emergency Relief Act and study it carefully. They will follow everywhere their usual professional policy—they will try to get the best that can be got out of the present unsatisfactory law, they will try to get trained men and women appointed to give service as well as food to the unfortunate victims of the disaster. But they will also move vigorously toward new legislation that will carry with it a more adequate appropriation and will take the administration of family relief out from under the organization that was created to deal with banks and railroads.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The following list of states and territories receiving federal assistance up to and including November 16, 1932, which has been furnished by the American Public Welfare Association, is appended for the convenience of our readers:

	Date	Amount		Date	Amount
Alabama.....	Aug. 24	\$225,000.	Georgia.....	Sept. 20	30,000.
Arizona.....	Sept. 10	250,000.		Sept. 27	315,093.22
	Nov. 12	256,200.		Nov. 2	121,567.
Arkansas.....	Sept. 16	502,500.		Nov. 12	5,000.
	Oct. 15	529,400.	Hawaii.....	Sept. 30	307,435.
Colorado.....	Sept. 10	250,000.	Idaho.....	Sept. 2	300,000.
	Sept. 28	597,600.	Illinois.....	Aug. 3	3,000,000.
	Oct. 25	238,035.		Aug. 18	6,000,000.
Florida.....	Sept. 1	500,000.		Sept. 24	5,000,000.
	Oct. 7	335,715.		Oct. 27	6,303,150.
	Nov. 15	729,734.	Indiana.....	Oct. 31	247,200.

	Date	Amount		Date	Amount
Indiana	Nov. 4	250,000.		Oct. 15	182,387.
Iowa	Nov. 9	34,000.		Oct. 20	448,750.
Kansas	Oct. 4	450,000.		Oct. 31	565,040.
	Nov. 8	13,634.		Nov. 8	791,264.
	Nov. 15	686,206.	Oklahoma	Oct. 15	181,312.
Kentucky	Sept. 24	672,550.		Oct. 25	636,656.
	Nov. 16	163,850.	Oregon	Sept. 27	86,160.
Louisiana	Aug. 16	1,096,084.		Oct.	48,818.
	Sept. 30	1,008,844.		Oct. 25	86,560.
	Oct. 25	280,330.		Nov. 8	7,000.
Michigan	Aug. 4	1,800,000.	Pennsylvania..	Sept. 22	2,500,000.
	Sept. 24	316,000.		Oct. 4	3,342,183.
	Oct. 15	40,000.		Nov. 4	5,462,265.
	Oct. 28	2,425,400.	Porto Rico....	Oct. 22	360,000.
	Nov. 1	264,575.	South Dakota.	Aug. 25	150,000.
Minnesota	Oct. 20	655,376.		Oct. 13	280,695.
Mississippi	Oct. 27	850,000.	Tennessee	Oct. 15	193,236.
Missouri	Sept. 12	633,180.		Oct. 29	274,300.
	Sept. 24	225,023.	Texas	Oct. 7	110,000.
	Oct. 8	51,655.		Oct. 11	19,500.
	Oct. 14	81,166.		Oct. 14	237,097.
	Nov. 2	20,014.		Nov. 5	795,369.
Montana	Sept. 16	300,000.		Nov. 15	237,097.
	Oct. 15	95,000.	Utah	Sept. 2	390,000.
	Oct. 22	60,000.		Oct. 8	250,000.
	Nov. 9	20,000.	Virginia	Sept. 19	283,367.
	Nov. 16	6,125.		Oct. 20	603,346.
Nevada	Sept. 29	47,200.		Oct. 26	112,212.
	Oct. 20	3,600.		Nov. 4	72,423.
	Nov. 2	4,167.	Washington...	Sept. 16	675,000.
New Hampshire	Nov. 4	667,420.		Oct. 13	105,000.
New Mexico ..	Sept. 30	90,800.		Nov. 4	105,000.
North			West Virginia.	Sept. 12	440,000.
Carolina ...	Oct. 7	815,000.		Oct. 7	213,891.
North Dakota.	Aug. 25	50,000.		Oct. 20	922,252.
Ohio	Aug. 3	852,662.		Nov. 10	367,300.
	Aug. 18	768,000.	Wisconsin	Aug. 20	3,000,000.
	Sept. 24	2,337,000.			
	Sept. 24	470,000.	Total		\$69,184,470.22

LATEST WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

SOME useful statistics have been given out by the International Labour Office for July, August, and September, 1932, showing a general increase in unemployment as compared with the corresponding months of 1931. Further, in certain countries, notably Great Britain, the Nether-

lands, and Denmark, unemployment figures have continued to grow even during the height of the summer. In a number of other countries, however, the figures show a slight decrease as compared with the preceding quarter (April, May, and June, 1932).

It should not be forgotten that the figures given for the various countries are not internationally comparable. The statistics in some cases show the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit; in others, the number of registered unemployed is given; and in some cases, many unemployed workers are neither registered nor in receipt of benefit, so that the figures given do not represent the real state of unemployment. However, the statistics do at least permit comparisons to be made of the positions for a given country from quarter to quarter and from year to year. These have been conveniently summarized by the International Labour Office as follows:

COMPULSORY UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE STATISTICS

Austria: 269,179 unemployed in September 1932; 284,350 in June 1932; 196,321 in September 1931.

Germany: 5,261,000 unemployed in September 1932; 5,675,307 in June 1932; 4,214,765 in September 1931.

Great Britain and Northern Ireland: 2,946,808 unemployed in September 1932; 2,821,840 in June 1932; 2,813,163 in September 1931.

VOLUNTARY UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE STATISTICS

Belgium: 341,326 unemployed in July 1932; 349,758 in April 1932; 167,287 in July 1931.

Czechoslovakia: 168,046 unemployed in August 1932; 180,456 in May 1932; 82,759 in August 1931.

Denmark: 94,868 unemployed in September 1932; 79,931 in June 1932; 35,214 in September 1931.

Netherlands: 161,026 unemployed in September 1932; 139,166 in May 1932; 70,479 in September 1931.

Switzerland: 87,162 unemployed in July 1932; 103,082 in April 1932; 46,843 in July 1931.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE STATISTICS

Canada: 73,573 unemployed in July; 77,188 in April; 57,530 in July 1931.

Chile: 90,570 unemployed in July; 74,960 in April; 18,573 in July 1931.

Czechoslovakia: 459,406 in September; 482,000 in June; 215,040 in September 1931.

Danzig: 28,989 unemployed in September; 33,418 in May; 21,509 in September 1931.

Denmark: 111,372 unemployed in August; 85,175 in June; 37,326 in August 1931.

Estonia: 3,137 unemployed in July; 4,853 in June; 931 in July 1931.

Finland: 11,963 unemployed in July; 12,554 in May; 6,320 in July 1931.

France: 289,479 unemployed in September; 375,502 in June; 54,569 in September 1931.

Irish Free State: 76,715 unemployed in September; 35,874 in June; 21,081 in September 1931.

Italy: 964,509 unemployed in August; 1,032,745 in May; 663,352 in August 1931.

Japan: 483,109 unemployed in June; 473,757 in April; 401,415 in June 1931.

Latvia: 11,004 unemployed in June; 22,912 in April; 1,871 in June 1931.

New Zealand: 55,203 unemployed in August; 45,383 in April; 47,772 in August 1931.

Norway: 27,543 unemployed in August; 31,504 in June; 22,971 in August 1931.

Poland: 218,059 unemployed in August; 360,031 in April; 255,179 in August 1931.

Saar Territory: 39,063 unemployed in August; 42,093 in May; 17,685 in August 1931.

Sweden: 74,496 unemployed in September; 65,429 in June; 35,169 in September 1931.

Yugoslavia: 9,940 unemployed in August; 20,089 in April; 6,672 in August 1931.

It is impossible to determine to what extent the improvement in the figures in certain countries may be temporary or to what extent this may indicate a change in the general situation. For the moment there is no escape from the fact that 28 per cent of the workers are unemployed in Germany, 23 per cent in Great Britain, and 22 per cent in Austria, and that, of the members of voluntary unemployment-insurance funds, 41 per cent are unemployed in Belgium, 32 per cent in the Netherlands, 30 per cent in Denmark, etc.; while according to trade-union figures the proportion of unemployment in the United States has risen in three months from 31 to 34 per cent, as against 26 per cent in August, 1931.

EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION ON CHILD EMPLOYMENT

THE National Child Labor Committee is preparing for its annual observance of national "Child Labor Day," which occurs on January 28-30, 1933. This day is very important at the present time when public opinion, anxious for the employment of able-bodied men, should be more

willing to listen to the social work arguments against child labor. The depression has apparently had the effect already of greatly reducing the total number of children employed, at least for the time-being. The United States Census places the number of working children, ten to fifteen years of age, inclusive, at 667,118 in 1930 as compared with 1,060,858 in 1920, a reduction of 37 per cent. The National Child Labor Committee presents these and other valuable data on this subject in a leaflet issued in preparation for an adequate observance of Child Labor Day.

The Committee also calls attention to the fact that many of the children now at work have been driven prematurely into industry by the long-continued unemployment of adult relatives. Some of the less scrupulous small concerns are taking advantage of the situation and are working young girls excessive hours at starvation wages. Beginners earning \$3.00 a week or less in textile and clothing manufacture have been reported from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In South Carolina and Georgia, where the longest working hours are allowed, the Census of 1930 showed an actual increase in the number of children under sixteen employed in manufacturing. The greatest care should be given at this juncture therefore to enforcing child labor laws, improving low standard laws, and maintaining established standards of minimum age, physical fitness, and working hours.

Social workers will also be glad that the National Child Labor Committee has called attention to the fact that the education and welfare of the boys and girls for whom no jobs are available is also a very important subject. But the schools that ought to be offering increased facilities are faced in many sections of the country with reduced appropriations. School terms are being shortened, the teaching force curtailed, attendance word reduced, social services in the schools, including visiting teacher work, vocational training and guidance programs, are being suspended, and building plans cancelled. Handicapped as they are, educational systems have been unable to hold or to recall a large percentage of the boys and girls for whom industry no longer has room.

The study of vagrant boys made by Mr. A. Wayne McMillen for the U.S. Children's Bureau shows that there are something like half a million boys and young men under twenty-one years of age drifting about the country on foot or jumping freight trains in a fruitless search for work. Most cities, with local relief agencies already overtaxed by community needs, move these boys on with no more than a night's lodging and a meager meal or two, and without any real attempt to solve the problem of their reabsorption into industry and society.

A numerical reduction therefore in the number of employed children is not sufficient, without alternative provision for constructive training. Never has the need for the strengthening of our educational structure been more urgent than now. Including those of sixteen and seventeen years of age, more than 2,000,000 boys and girls are reported by the 1930 Census as gainfully employed; but more than 3,000,000 are not attending school. The opportunity exists for keeping thousands of young people in school and preparing them for citizenship instead of letting them drift and deteriorate.

Great effort must be made during the coming legislative sessions to secure more general ratification of the child labor amendment to the federal Constitution. This amendment has, as yet, been ratified by only six states. Let us hope that six times six states will take action early in 1933.

THE MISERY OF GARBAGE

MEMBERS of a Chicago committee who undertook to investigate the reports that people were going to the various garbage dumps to collect food included three well-known social workers—Dr. Graham Taylor and Miss Lea Taylor, of Chicago Commons, and Dr. James Mullenbach, impartial chairman, Hart, Schaffner and Marx. Two other members of the Chicago Commons staff also served on the committee, which also included a competent bacteriologist, a member of the Chicago bar, and some other interested persons.

Briefly, the findings of the committee were as follows: That there are several Chicago garbage dumps, some of which are under city supervision, and some private. About a dozen places where garbage is dumped were visited by different members of the committee; and in every place where "soft" garbage, such as remains of food, were found, people were reported to be picking it over and eating from it at the dump or taking it home to cook. Only in those places where cinders and ashes alone were dumped, and where nothing that could, by any stretch of the imagination, be used as food by man or beast, was it reported that no eating took place. This kind of garbage collecting was reported from nine different dumps, although the committee reported that these nine places by no means exhausted the list.

The people who were seen picking over the various dumps were of several different classes. There were people who correctly (as shown by a check-up) reported themselves to be receiving relief from one agency or another. They collected food from the particular dump on which they

were found because they thought the dump a means of increasing the food rations. There were other men and women who said they had not yet applied for relief and who, according to their own stories, preferred to help themselves in this way. These stories were not checked. There were also many single men who lived in improvised "jungles" near one dump or another and who managed to extract a scanty food ration from the daily garbage collections. Several of these "jungles" were inspected by the members of the committee.

The investigators who visited the dump at Thirty-first Street and Cicero Avenue reported that when they reached the dump they found a private scavenger's truck unloading garbage and other refuse, and around it about thirty-five men, women, and children. As soon as the truck pulled away from the pile, all these people started digging, some with sticks, some with their hands, grabbing bits of food and vegetables. A workman at the dump said that this was an everyday occurrence, from early morning until late in the evening.

Adjoining this dump is an area with more than three hundred men living in huts and in improvised homes built in the fire boxes of an abandoned kiln. These men said that they would much rather live there than eat and sleep at the shelter houses in Chicago. They carry their water for all purposes from the railroad tank about a quarter of a mile away. They have built all kinds of stoves, and all sorts of cans are used for water and cooking utensils. Two of these men said that they picked vegetables regularly out of the dump and washed and cooked them. The men were reported to look very undernourished.

The committee reported about one hundred and fifty of these huts surrounding this dump and housing these three hundred or more unfortunate men, who, in the words of the investigators, were asking only for jobs, or for work for a long enough time to get them a decent place to live. The men said they were not molested by the police, as they tried to be law-abiding citizens, and "would be better if only they had work and a suitable place to live."

Dr. James Mullenbach, a member of the committee, who is himself an expert on shelters for men, indicated that he thought there was much to be said against the congregate lodging house as such, not so much on the ground of food or lodging, but because of their sodden and helpless outlook. Some men, he said, would not stand for a regulated life anywhere and would prefer even the garbage dump with liberty.

At this dump, which served as a kind of depot for emptying of the garbage cans from various restaurants, hotels, and similar places, preceding

incineration, the report showed that there was a private incinerator. A new truckload of "soft" restaurant garbage, which consisted very largely of such food as watermelon, was dumped when the committee was present. It was a warm day, the odors were bad, and there were clouds of flies everywhere. About a dozen people were waiting for this truckload and picked up vegetables and scraps of various kinds which they took away, some of them eating pieces of food they picked up. The proprietor of the incinerator, who was present, said that many of those present had been eating at the dump for as many as eight years, and that there were few new faces. He did not think there was anything objectionable about it and thought it better that these people should be allowed to eat in this way rather than go to the relief stations.

As the committee went over the ground, men who were picking things up and putting them in gunny sacks moved away, evidently afraid that the investigators were persons in authority who might interfere with them. The police are said to visit the place every day at about 6:00 P.M., but the men there understand that this is chiefly to see that there are no women living there.

In all cases the men who were interviewed said they had had jobs before they came there. They were all there simply because they were unemployed. There were several ex-soldiers. One veteran said that he went down town every day because he fared better by "panhandling" than by living on the dump like the men with sacks. Others said they went about in the vicinity and occasionally were able to beg food. There were three ex-service men who said they had been in the "Bonus Army." Other men said they preferred their present mode of living to anything in the way of a "flop house." Dr. Mullenbach commented again, as a member of the committee, and said he was confident that the "grub" in the public lodging-houses was better than at the dump; but men have to stand in line and there is other regimentation, obnoxious to some and perhaps to many.

One man nearly sixty years old had been three years out of work and had lived in the "jungle" a year. He had stayed at one of the shelters, but he liked it better in the "jungle" than in the shelter. He said he picked up onions, potatoes, cabbages, and was able to get a few cents here and there by helping out a truckman at the dump or something of that sort. Another single man who had tried the "flop houses" said that there were too many people there. He said he just did not like them—"all kinds of people there." Dr. Graham Taylor said, with regard to this point, that he thought discrimination should clearly be made between "flop houses" privately conducted and "shelters" conducted under the auspices of the

Emergency Relief Commission, which, from personal observation and accredited reports from trustworthy observers, he had found to be well equipped and managed.

Some of the men begged for blankets; most of them begged for shirts, saying they were wearing the last one they had at the time; one man said they felt the lack of coffee and sugar more than anything else. In some places they were living three in a bunk, "very dirty and smelly."

Later in the day a number of the members of the committee went to Summit, where there is a very large dump owned and operated by the City of Chicago. This is situated on land belonging to the Sanitary District and is on the west bank of the Desplaines River. This dump also had its "village" of shanties. Here many families were living, and children were seen, as frequently as grown-ups, picking both food and junk from the dump. It is well known that in pre-depression times a certain amount of food-picking occurred here. For even in normal times there are always a few people who occasionally use food of this kind. The committee thought that the phenomenon was not new but thought that there had never been a time when such a large number of persons seemed to be largely dependent on food which had been thrown away. Although the committee were told by the superintendent of the Summit dump that there were some comparatively well-to-do families who owned their own property among the food-pickers, the committee did not come across a single case which was not apparently due to unemployment.

The committee reported that there were said to be many more people who visited the dump and either ate the food as they picked it up or took it away with them than there were people living in the shanties. The committee's interviews, however, were confined to the people who lived in the "jungle." The Summit dump-dwellers consider themselves better off than many of those who live in town and visit the dump, and they also believe that the conditions are better than at the other dumps. Many of the shanties are built in the woods nearby. The men catch fish in the river; and in one or two instances they grow a few tomatoes, beets, and so on. At one shanty there is a small pig, which seems to be a great pet with everyone. One colored man picked up junk from the dump, as well as potatoes and cabbages, but no meat. This man had not been to the relief station yet and said he was just trying to get along by himself as long as he could.

These men had not participated in any of the Unemployed Councils or other organizations. They expressed great apprehension lest they should be led into doing something that might offend the Sanitary District,

which might perhaps retaliate by driving them off the ground altogether. One man frankly stated that he looked forward to the winter with dread, but that he did not wish, in endeavoring to obtain some help, to get himself "in bad" with the politicians and so make matters worse.

A university bacteriologist was a member of a group who visited one of the dumps where the only people present were the men shoveling the garbage into the incinerator. A vast quantity of malodorous garbage was reported, and one truck was standing there unloaded. The investigators reported quite a quantity of carrots, some potatoes, and other vegetables, which, "when washed and prepared, might have been as good as the best."

The bacteriologist made the following report:

The practice of eating garbage indulged in by many unemployed living near garbage dumps or disposal plants introduces a serious health hazard. Some of the retrieved foods, such as carrots, turnips, beets, potatoes, etc., that can be cooked may be harmless; but decaying fruits, meat, melons, or other spoiled food are responsible for acute gastro-enteritis that in occasional cases results fatally. Spoiled canned goods that have been discarded from the home or grocery store offer a real potential danger from the very highly fatal botulism toxin occasionally found in swelled cans. In interviewing a number who had been made ill from garbage, it was found that the majority were accustomed to eating the contents of swelled goods if it did not smell or taste bad. It is apparent to any one that these senses cannot be too critical in one who is forced to secure his food from garbage dumps. Sanitarians agree that, while not all swollen cans contain toxic foods, the contents of all such cans must be regarded as potentially poisonous and harmful. Few people elect to secure their food from such questionable sources, and vigorous measures should be taken to supply wholesome food to those unfortunates.

Finally, the committee reported that they believed that the people who are now living and eating at the garbage dumps represent those upon whom the weight of the depression has fallen most heavily, and who are so crushed by the condition in which they find themselves that they have little initiative and comparatively little disposition to rebel. In the opinion of the committee this did not mean, however, that these people are contented; they are merely helpless, despairing, and lacking in means of self-expression.

The committee, however, reported that they had seen a certain amount of perfectly good food mixed with disgusting garbage on the dumps. They recommended, therefore, that steps be taken to prevent any good food being thrown into the garbage by restaurants, stores, commission merchants, etc., but that steps be taken to have all such unsold food, while it

is still good, made available to the unemployed before it has been thrown away.

The committee also reported, as one of their conclusions, that the mere fact that people are driven to live in this way is the most conclusive evidence possible that they ought to be receiving immediate relief. It was recommended, therefore, that "a strong agitation be started for immediate relief to anyone found eating garbage, and that this relief be given pending investigation of the case."

Whether one agrees with the committee recommendations or not, it would be hard to disagree with the fact that people do not pick over garbage dumps for pleasure, and that picking food out of garbage indicates a condition far removed from the American standard of living to which we once pointed with pride!

PUBLIC WELFARE NEWS

THE American Public Welfare Association with Frank Bane, director, and Marietta Stevenson, assistant director, has been settled in new quarters with Louis Brownlow's Public Administration Clearing House group of organizations just off the University of Chicago quadrangles. The Public Welfare Association began issuing the *Public Welfare News* in November and has devoted the first issue of the *News* largely to the subject of Federal Relief.

During the last few months the Association has had many requests for services of one kind or another. Over one half of the states have been visited by the staff members. Because of the many requests that have been coming into the office in connection with various relief problems, several extra field people have been temporarily taken on, including Aubrey Williams of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, Robert Lansdale of the Federal Indian Service, and Frank Miller of the Atlanta (Georgia) Community Fund, for varying lengths of time.

The director has been very busy with conferences of social work, institutes, conferences on unemployment, and occasional lectures in the University of Chicago. A state survey of welfare activities of New Hampshire in co-operation with Brookings Institute of Washington, D.C., similar to the one made in Alabama earlier in the year, has been in progress.

"RUTH TAYLOR OF WESTCHESTER"

UNDER the foregoing title, the *New York Times* published an editorial on October 15 dealing with the public social services of the great New York County which Ruth Taylor has served so long and so well. Whether Ruth Taylor is returned to the position of Commissioner which

she now holds will have been decided before this number of the *Review* appears. But the editorial expresses a public appreciation of able and devoted service that should be widely read.

Citizens of Westchester ought not to need urging this year to vote for Ruth Taylor as County Commissioner of Public Welfare. They have known her for eighteen years, ever since the day in 1914 when the late V. Everit Macy, father of the county's modern welfare program, retained her to help him with his work as County Superintendent of the Poor. Throughout that period she has gained in wisdom and in popular favor, as also in command of the growing duties she has been called upon to discharge. For some years she served as director of the Department of Child Welfare. Later she became Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare under the late George F. Werner, and when he died last year she took his place. She is accustomed to control the expenditure of \$2,500,000 a year of public funds, and has had a vital part in the administration of a system of relief which has lately become the model for the State.

Boss Ward has supported her, more credit to him. But that need not cause Democrats to shy away on November 8 and vote for her rival Frederic C. Howe, however respectable his candidacy. He has not labored through the heat of the day in Westchester, or won, on the spot, so enviable a reputation. Miss Taylor deserves election regardless of politics. Ever since Mr. Macy's day the people of the county have shown that they desire and will support by their votes and their appropriations a competent and progressive care of the poor. Miss Taylor has given them that care, rising splendidly to the new responsibilities put upon her by the depression. "If there was ever a clear case of a great community needing to protect its own interests," says Homer Folks of the State Charities Aid Association, "by continuing in office a person who has abundantly proven the ability to perform its duties with distinguished success, and with an eye single at all times to the real interests of the people of the county, this is one."

TUBERCULOSIS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN GERMANY

AN IMPORTANT section of the last report of the German Central Anti-Tuberculosis Committee deals with the influence of unemployment upon tuberculosis. The report shows for the year 1930 practically the same rate of tuberculosis as for the year preceding. For this year, the latest for which complete data are available, the report shows a decline of tuberculosis in industrial areas but an increase in agricultural regions for the period covered. But it is important to remember that the data, although issued in the most recent report on this subject, are for the year 1930, since collection and tabulation are slow processes in the central office.

The report, however, also presents some more recent data for individual districts that show a slow but decided upward trend in the rate of

active tuberculosis and in the number of relapses of arrested cases. Statistics are also given from certain localities indicating an average increase of 10 per cent in the death-rate from tuberculosis. Reports from the Invalidity Insurance offices seem to confirm the data of these districts and localities.

In consequence, the report suggests that only now are the effects of unfavorable economic conditions upon morbidity and mortality from tuberculosis becoming evident. It suggests that, at first, unemployment means leisure time (especially out-of-doors), fresh air, and relief from the strain and fatigue of heavy, regular, and usually confining labor. Such use of leisure is an important factor in the cure of tuberculosis. The report continues, however, with the observation that the later lack of adequate nourishment more than offsets the beneficent effects of rest from hard and continuous labor and that at this point the tuberculosis curve seems to rise.

M. R. C.

ATTEMPTS TO FINANCE UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS IN GERMANY

GERMANY'S threefold provision for the unemployed, including (1) unemployment insurance, (2) emergency unemployment allowances, and (3) poor relief for the unemployed, was vigorously attacked last spring as being "administratively impossible and expensive."

Meanwhile, at the end of January, 1932, over six million unemployed persons, or about one-tenth of the entire German population, applied for work at the employment exchanges. Of this number 31 per cent were receiving unemployment insurance, 26 per cent emergency unemployment allowances, and 28 per cent poor relief for the unemployed. Over 67 per cent of the recipients of unemployment benefits were between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five; while 72 per cent of the men and 82 per cent of the women recipients of emergency allowances were of the same ages. Similar data for those aided by poor relief are unavailable, but that group includes those ineligible for the two other forms of aid, and in most cases, persons who have exhausted claim to them.

On June 14, 1932, the German Reichstag passed another Emergency Decree designed to reduce the anticipated deficit in funds set aside for assistance to the unemployed. Decisive action was seen to be necessary at the end of the fiscal year, March 31, 1932. At that time there were 6,034,100 unemployed persons, an increase of 27 per cent over the same date in 1931. Of these, 1,578,788, or 32 per cent less than in 1931, were re-

ceiving standard unemployment benefits. Another 1,744,321, or 89 per cent more than in 1931, were receiving emergency unemployment allowances; and 1,944,417, or 107 per cent more than in 1931, were being aided from public unemployment relief funds. There were 766,574, or 26 per cent more than in 1931, who received no assistance. At that time conservative estimates set the average number of unemployed for the fiscal year, 1932-33, at 5,900,000, and the cost of insurance and relief to them at 3,557 million marks (\$889,100,000). Anticipated income at the prevailing rate of premiums, grants, and benefits was 914 million marks (\$223,500,000) below requirements.

The decree of June 14 stipulated three remedies to balance the budget for unemployment insurance and relief. They were (1) reducing the amount of benefit, (2) granting insurance benefits after a specified period of time only to necessitous persons, and (3) using other insurance funds for other kinds of aid to the unemployed.

To carry out these principles, executive orders were issued on June 16 which reduced the rates of benefit, not uniformly but with some flexibility, for each wage class and with reference to individual needs. The average reduction for recipients of standard benefits was expected to amount to 23 per cent; for recipients of emergency allowances, to 10 per cent; and for those assisted by unemployment relief, to 15 per cent. Furthermore, persons eligible to standard unemployment benefits were to be limited to six weeks' receipt of such benefits without test of their necessitous condition. Grant of these benefits had previously been reduced from twenty-six to twenty weeks. The principle of necessitous condition as prerequisite to married women's receipt of benefits had previously been introduced. Its application to all insured members virtually limited insurance to the six weeks. The test of necessity as a condition of receipt of emergency allowances was made more rigid (the term "*Hilfsbedürftigkeitsprüfung*" being substituted for the former "*Bedürftigkeitsprüfung*"), and individual investigation required in place of the former set of rules determining need.

These two changes were expected to save 527 million marks (\$132,000,000). There still remained a deficit of 387 million marks. To cover this, executive orders of June 17 provided an emergency tax upon wages. This tax was laid upon all wages and salaries, derived from private or public employment and from insurance benefits and pensions granted by the national insurance system or otherwise. This tax was expected to raise about 400 million marks (\$100,000,000), most of which was to go to the

localities for unemployment relief. Another 272 million marks (\$63,000,000) was to be turned over to the localities from the unemployment insurance funds out of savings affected through the necessitous condition clause. The tax upon wages was apparently as heavy as could be borne. The tax upon pensioners, especially upon those receiving a pittance in slight compensation for loss of all property through the inflation, was so severe as to be warranted only by the disastrous condition of the labor market.

Six weeks later it seemed as though these drastic economies might not suffice. The number of unemployed rose 60,000 in July, ordinarily one of the most favorable months for employment. At the end of that month there were 5,393,000 unemployed, or nearly 1,400,000 more than on the same day of 1931. Of these only 757,000 received standard unemployment benefits; 1,354,000 received emergency unemployment allowances; and 2,224,000, unemployment relief.

A further executive decree of July 16 extended the existing efforts and facilities for voluntary labor by juveniles (*freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst*), designed to maintain morale and working capacity. Projects useful to the community, not encroaching upon the domain of private industry, and conducted by public bodies were to be encouraged. Each juvenile was to be limited to twenty weeks of work within two years, or forty in case of especially useful work. The maximum recompense was to be two marks weekly. Two possible dangers were pointed out in such a program. Some feared the tendency to draw down wage rates to the level of this slight recompense which could not possibly meet minimum costs of living. For this reason the trade unions generally opposed the program, without offering alternative occupation for youth. The other danger feared was use of voluntary labor for purposes of militaristic education or organization of the youth engaged in rather large groups upon such labor.

Voluntary labor has not been limited to juveniles. Notably in Frankfurt the program has been carried out on an extensive scale. Men are giving their services in the building of great community housing projects (*Siedlungen*), receiving, if they have families, claim to part ownership in one of the apartments they have helped to erect. The remaining payments on the property, amounting practically to low interest rates, are extended over a period of years. The wives of recipients of unemployment benefits or relief, in the great housing communities built to meet their low rental demands, run co-operative kitchens where their families buy hot meals to be eaten at home for ten pfennig per portion, a portion

being designed to give adequate nourishment to a person. The money to meet the cost of the meals not paid for by the ten pfennig is raised by private subscription. Still other housing projects have been and are being undertaken with the view to settling the unemployed upon the land.

Recent proposals for legislative reform have been offered by the Social Democratic party to meet the problem of unemployment. They include socialization of the basic industries, nationalization of the large banks, expropriation of the great landed estates, and settling of the unemployed upon the land thus released. The last two items have many political complications. The great landed estates in East Prussia have for many years been productive only by virtue of federal subsidies. They have each year hired Polish agricultural laborers, some of whom have remained to swell the number of the unemployed. Herr Bruening, when chancellor, on the basis of proposals made by the experts in the Ministry of Labor, recommended discontinuation of these subsidies and settling of unemployed upon those farms that could not continue to operate independently, on the theory that small-scale farming could pay. This roused the opposition of the East Prussian Junker landholders, who persuaded President von Hindenburg, on a visit home to East Prussia, to replace Chancellor Bruening by Herr von Papen.

Unemployment insurance, therefore, is seen within the larger setting of unemployment relief, and both are related to a program for the reorganization of industry.

M. R. C.

MODERN VAGRANCY

THE results of a study of the city jail conducted by the Crime and Delinquency Committee of the Denver Community Chest Council are summarized in a recent annual report covering the activities of the past fiscal year. The study showed that 45 per cent of the men in the city jail are under thirty years of age. Nearly 70 per cent were listed as common laborers. Fifty per cent were in jail on charges of vagrancy. The juxtaposition of these three facts is an illuminating commentary on the fate of the unskilled workman in times of depression. The Denver committee recommended a more careful classification of vagrants, pointing out that many are unemployed workmen who are in jail only because they have no place to go. Among other things a vocational training and work program is suggested. The large numbers of boys and young men now technically liable to arrest for vagrancy at any moment will ultimately bring

other communities to a realization of the imperative need for increased opportunities for vocational training during the present emergency. It is to be hoped that this training will not have to be given in jails under the guidance of turnkeys and jailers.

A. W. McM.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

THE Second International Conference of Social Work came and went in Frankfurt on the Main, Germany, last July. The reports in two European social welfare journals¹ provide an interesting summary for Americans who could not attend.

The general subject of this conference was "The family and welfare work," with particular reference to changing social and economic conditions. The conference was attended by 1,200 delegates from 34 countries from all parts of the world, among them 200 delegates from the United States. The work of the conference was divided among six committees. The proceedings of the general conference were devoted almost entirely to the reading of reports. There was practically no discussion, except at committee meetings. No resolutions were passed, but the separate committees presented concluding reports on the results of their discussions.

The reports took up various angles of the question as to how the family can be preserved from further disintegration by economic, hygienic, educational, and moral measures. Some delegates lamented the destruction of the old form of family and urged the preservation of this form even under the new conditions. Another group spoke of the possibility of preserving the family by economic aid which would remove the danger of disintegration. A third group attempted to show with detailed data the close connection between the economic distress of the family and the situation of society as a whole.

The conference also took up the situation of those families in which danger to family life was due not to economic conditions but to personal circumstances, such as broken homes or families not belonging to any particular country. In spite of the difference of viewpoints the conference unanimously agreed on the need of preserving the family as a social force.

The questions of the organization of welfare work and methods of pro-

¹ *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Wohlfahrtspflege*, No. 5 (Berlin, 1932); *Zeitschrift für Kinderschutz, Familien- und Berufsfürsorge*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 7-8 (Vienna, 1932). The Review is indebted to the "Abstracts from Recent Foreign Sources" issued from time to time by the U.S. Children's Bureau for this translation.

curing money were discussed very little on account of the great differences in the conditions of the various countries.

Particular attention was devoted by all the speakers to the profession of social worker, much more so than at the Paris conference in 1928. With the exception of the United States and Czechoslovakia there were few social workers among the delegates. Although some delegates spoke highly of the part played by social workers in the preservation of the family, others, for instance, Abbé Viollet of Paris and the Rev. Mr. Pringle of London, held the social workers responsible for the destructive tendencies in family life which resulted in the decrease of the birth-rate and in the disappearance of the sense of responsibility.

INTERNATIONAL CHILD WELFARE CONGRESS

THE Union Internationale de Protection de l'Enfance is organizing its seventh international congress, which is to be held in Paris, July 5-9, 1933. The general subject announced for discussion is "The Government and Relief Work."

The seven following sections are announced with the leaders indicated:

1. MATERNITY—Professor Couvelaire, Hospital Physician, member of the Academy of Medicine
2. INFANCY—Professor Mouriquand, Hospital Physician
3. EARLY CHILDHOOD, CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE—Doctor Dufestel, General Secretary of the Association of School Physicians of Paris and of the Department of Seine
4. ADOLESCENCE—Doctor Chailley-Bert, Director of the Institute of Physical Education of the University of Paris
5. DEFECTIVE CHILDREN—Doctor Paul-Boncour, Professor of Criminology and Anthropology; Medical Director of the Pedagogical Institute of Vitry (Department of Seine)
6. SOCIAL SERVICE—Doctor Armand-Delille, Hospital Physician; General Secretary of l'Oeuvre Grancher (society dealing with removal of infants from tuberculous homes)
7. REPORTS ON SUBJECTS OUTSIDE OF THE ABOVE CATEGORIES

It is announced that all members of the Congress may present reports which will be classified under one of the seven sections listed above.

To Americans the plan is very foreign indeed. Social workers seem not generally represented, which is, of course, in great contrast to the situation in America where a social work conference is directed by members of the professional social work group. However, we hope American social workers will attend the Paris Conference next July regardless of program.

ERNST FREUND, 1864-1932

PROFESSOR FREUND was a great legal scholar whose interest in social work had endeared him to a wide circle of the readers of this *Review*. He contributed for our first number an article entitled "Deportation Legislation in the Sixty-ninth Congress," which was so greatly in demand that it was finally reprinted for distribution among members of Congress who were then considering more stringent deportation regulations.

He was sensitive to injustice and preventible suffering; and from the beginning of the movement for the protection of immigrants he was active in every effort in its behalf. With Julius Rosenwald and Judge Mack he was a member of the first Board of the Immigrants' Protective League and for several years its president. He drafted the act which created the Illinois State Immigrants' Commission, of which Grace Abbott was secretary. He was at all times an expert counselor both on questions of national policy and on the problems of individual human beings and their difficulties. He testified before congressional committees, where his great reputation as a legal authority, his judicial temper, and his fine sense of human justice always commanded respect for the cause he advocated. He cherished the hope that he might one day see the immigration service concerned to help the friendless aliens, instead of merely trying to deport them.

His researches in the field of the police power, in which he was the outstanding authority, were responsible for his special interest in the programs of reform in the relations of employer and employee—the development of a labor code which would obtain the support of both the legislature and the courts. By these paths he became familiar with the earlier struggles to obtain limitations on the working hours of women, to secure minimum wage laws for women; and he was greatly concerned for the improvement of the state child labor laws and later the federal attempts to deal with this question, first through congressional legislation and then by an amendment to the United States Constitution.

Learned in various legal systems, he looked upon the administration of the law as subject to social readjustment. He was, from this point of view, deeply interested in the law of domestic relations. All questions of the position of the child in law challenged him. As member of the Uniform Law Commissioners, he listened patiently and sympathetically to the women asking for co-guardianship rights. He wrote for the United States Children's Bureau a masterly comment on the *Illegitimacy Laws of the*

United States and Certain Foreign Countries (Bureau Publication No. 42), he drafted uniform marriage and divorce acts, and was eager for better understanding of the laws dealing with guardianship, the emancipation of children, and the status of illegitimate children. He had served for years as a member of the Illegitimacy Conference of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies.

He was at home in the civil as well as in the common law and was anxious to bring to the American student an idea of the skilful and rational statement of principles which might make of American statute-drafting a really artistic instrumentality in expressing the social purposes of the state.

He had a great interest in professional education in other fields than his own. An early and constant friend of the Chicago School of Social Service Administration, he was keenly interested in the steady development of the movement for professional schools of social work. He gave a course of lectures each year at the "old School" on Social Legislation, which were greatly appreciated by the student group. His courses in the Law School of the University of Chicago on "Administrative Law," "Statutes," "Domestic Relations," "Comparative Law," and "Municipal Corporations" were taken by social service students, to whom he opened doors into a new world of thinking that was stimulating and strengthening. He always welcomed the social service contingent in his classes and showed a keen interest in the special questions they raised or special problems they proposed. He had great respect for social workers and thought that their experience should be drawn upon in framing programs for legislative action.

Besides legal journals he contributed to the *Social Service Review*, the *Survey*, the *Labor Legislation Review*, the *Journal of Political Economy*. He read papers before the state and national Conference of Social Work. He sat on committees and gave generously of his time and ability as well as of his money. His scholarly books begin with his great work on *The Police Power: Public Policy and Constitutional Rights* (1904) and end with *Legislative Regulation. A Study of the Ways and Means of Written Law*, published by the Commonwealth Fund last spring. The list includes three volumes on "Administrative Law" and his well-known *Standards of American Legislation* (1917).

The country has lost one of her greatest legal scholars, the University of Chicago one of her greatest teachers, social work and social workers an honored friend and guide.

BOOK REVIEWS

*Negro Housing. Report of the Committee on Negro Housing of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.*¹ Prepared for the Committee by CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Edited by JOHN M. GRIES and JAMES FORD. Washington, D.C., 1932. Pp. xiv+282. \$1.15.

The Negro Family in Chicago. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. xxv+294. \$3.00.

The Negro in American Civilization: A Study of Negro Life and Race Relations in the Light of Social Research. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: Henry Holt, 1930. Pp. xiv+538. \$4.00.

The report of the Committee on Negro Housing of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership makes no pretense to originality. Its description and analysis of the physical, social, and financial aspects of the housing problem are drawn from the reports of "more than forty surveys and investigations that have revealed, from time to time, atrocious housing conditions which shocked the public into temporary interest; which, because they lacked a steady, consistent follow-up brought little, if any, improvement in the conditions presented." A digest of these reports covers 111 pages, while verbatim extracts from the same reports cover another 138 pages. Although a few of the reports are unpublished masters' theses, available only in university libraries, by far the greater part of the material has been published previously, either in accessible magazine articles or in book form.

A 55-page report, not previously published, entitled *Housing Conditions among Negroes in Chicago with Special Reference to Juvenile Delinquency*, presents certain material with regard to occupation, income, rents, juvenile delinquents, and adult offenders, but the relationship between the facts presented is not at all clear. The general conclusion seems to be that Negro delinquency is a function of several variables, the most important of which is the time that the southern Negroes have lived in Chicago. Negro delinquency thus may tend to disappear as the group becomes one of the older groups in the community. Although this conclusion may be quite sound for reasons elsewhere established, the evidence presented in this report seems wholly inadequate to support any conclusions. It is not quite clear why the President's Conference should have published this material in support of recommendations upon the subject of housing conditions.

¹ Two other volumes in "Housing Conference" series are reviewed in the Public Documents section of this *Review*, see p. 691.

The sixteen recommendations of the Committee, stated briefly in two pages in the middle of the volume, contain nothing that is startlingly new. There is a reiteration of the demand for the creation of commissions—municipal, state, and national—but it is merely suggested that these commissions should investigate further, prepare better housing legislation, and aid in its enforcement. There are exhortations to the Negro citizen to move to the outskirts of the city where better homes can be built, to Negro organizations to stimulate interest in housing and raise the standards of home-making, and to general civic organizations to institute clean-up campaigns. It is suggested that condemned dwellings be razed, that poor dwellings be improved, and that restrictive legislation be abolished.

For the rural Negro there is a proposal for rural social work and for minimum standards for tenant homes on plantations. To meet the difficulties of borrowing to purchase homes, it is suggested that building and loan associations be organized under responsible auspices and that the participation of Negroes be encouraged. For rural purchases there is a somewhat novel suggestion of "local co-operative associations" of Negro home-owners and buyers which would go beyond the functions of the ordinary building and loan associations and would "bargain collectively" for particular pieces of property. Finally, in response to the overwhelming evidence that Negroes pay rents that are out of all proportion to their incomes, there is a suggestion that the housing needs of urban Negroes with incomes of less than \$2,000 per year cannot be met by private investment and a recommendation "that consideration be given to the intervention by public funds either through tax relief or through direct subsidy."

The tone of the report is restrained. The problems of racial antagonism are stated without emotion. The chief emphasis is laid upon the economic handicaps of Negroes who are poor, as white persons are poor—inevitably. There is little suggestion that the economic system may be at fault.

Not so with the Foreword, however, which bears the signature of the former Secretary of Commerce, Robert P. Lamont. Here we have, bravely stated, a new philosophy. Mr. Lamont says:

Our philosophy of individual responsibility for shelter has proved to be inadequate. . . . The residents of the area in which they live pay no taxes and have no influence, so the municipality tends to overlook their needs for utilities and to ignore violations of the housing and sanitary codes. . . . The excess of demand over supply permits rent profiteering. . . . These conditions of Negro housing in our cities are not the result of any wilful inhumanity on the part of our society. On the contrary, they merely emphasize the present shortcomings of our individualistic theory of housing, and the failure which grows out of expecting each person in our highly complex industrial civilization to provide his own housing as best he may. The Negro's housing problem is part of the general problem of providing enough housing of acceptable standards for the low income groups in our society. Racial factors and the primitive housing conditions to which he has been accustomed and which necessitate a more drastic readjustment than for other groups, contribute to make the Negro the worst sufferer.

What is the solution? It is not to attempt to do something for Negro housing alone. It is not to supply homes to Negroes through private or public charity. It is to reorganize our practices in the planning and production of all housing.

Mr. Lamont further assumes responsibility, on the part of the President's Conference, for fulfilment, not merely for proposal, when he says: "The report of the Committee on Negro Housing is distinguished by its objectivity. For that reason it compels unusual attention. It is our duty to see that it bears fruit in action."

Dr. Frazier has written a readable and scholarly book upon the character and problems of the Negro family in Chicago. He summarizes the changes in Negro family organization under the successive periods of slavery, emancipation in the rural south, and migration to northern industrial cities. In the city of Chicago he finds seven distinct zones of Negro settlement varying in the degree of family disorganization, as evidenced by desertion, dependency, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency. Again, the emphasis is placed upon the factor of time. Culturally speaking, the period of slavery was short, the period of rural freedom was short, the period of industrial demand in the north was the period of brief war-time prosperity. In the transitional periods after the break from one institutional setting and before a foothold has been secured in another, the Negro presents evidence of demoralization, but given time, given economic security, he behaves much as the white man behaves.

The Negro in American Civilization by Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University is the result of the National Interracial Conference organized in 1926 by sixteen national social organizations. The book includes a brief analysis of all the available facts on Negro life in the United States, together with several short papers on special subjects not previously published and a comprehensive Bibliography. The Foreword describes this volume as "neither the proceedings of the conference nor the report of an investigation. It is a synthesis of many studies put through the process of a conference which hammered it into coherence and reality." Although it covers a wide range of facts, the book did not attempt and does not achieve the proportions of an encyclopedia. The careful student of Negro affairs will find much here that is suggestive and reasonable, but he will need to consult the sources of the synthesis for the details with regard to any of the many problems that are attacked.

HELEN R. JETER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Recent Trends in American Housing. By EDITH ELMER WOOD, Ph.D.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. ix+317. \$3.00.

This survey of the housing situation in the United States is concerned primarily with the period from 1917 until the present. It is shown that while the quantitative shortage in homes, occasioned by the discontinuance of building activity during the war, was finally overcome in 1928, there remains a qualita-

tive shortage which the laws of supply and demand unaided are powerless to eliminate. Although the substantial portion of our population who are subnormally housed desire better homes, they lack the "price in the pocket" which is essential to effective demand.

The remedies for housing evils are twofold. Restrictive efforts include regulatory legislation designed to forbid bad housing. Several restrictive housing codes were enacted between 1910 and 1920. Zoning, a complement rather than a substitute for restrictive legislation, has developed widely since 1915. The constructive remedy involves the erection of better houses at lower cost, which necessitates a reduction in as many as possible of the following: (1) the cost of land; (2) the cost of building; (3) the cost of financing; (4) the profit of the entrepreneur.

The graded tax, used in Seattle and Pittsburgh, tends to discourage the practice of holding land idle in anticipation of a rise in value. Zoning also aids indirectly in the control of land values. Building costs are less controllable, having already been made the subject of constant study by expert technicians.

Several co-operative housing projects have been undertaken with a view to easing the cost of financing for the home-seeker. A majority of these ventures have failed because the participants were seeking profit rather than a home, or because they lacked sufficient mutual interests. Housing loans at low interest are sorely needed and practically unavailable to the family who do not at the outset have a sizable portion of the purchase price. The development of limited dividend housing has not in itself been able to bring satisfactory housing within the means of the lowest economic third of the population, although it has aided the middle group.

Housing by public authorities has shown "real potential significance," particularly in the war housing projects of the national government, California's aid to home ownership, and New York's aid to limited dividend housing.

The author concludes that "so far as the lower two-thirds of the population are concerned, compared with the rest of the world, we have lost ground during the last fourteen years." Yet, "We are still thanking God that we are not as other men are, and that we do not interfere with the sacred laws of supply and demand in the matter of providing homes for those who need them." An extensive program of slum clearance and rehousing is suggested as a more meritorious means of furnishing employment during the depression than the construction of unnecessary post-offices.

Dr. Wood's candid expressions of opinion and well-thought-through conclusions, to which her long interest and experience in the field of housing lend considerable weight, enhance the value of her excellent survey of recent developments in the United States.

RICHARD M. EDDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Report on the Enforcement of the Deportation Laws of the United States (U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Publication No. 5). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. 179. \$0.30.

Deportation of Aliens from the United States to Europe. By JANE PERRY CLARK. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. 524. \$5.00.

The Administrative Control of Aliens: A Study in Administrative Law and Procedure. By WILLIAM C. VAN VLECK. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1932. Pp. ix+260. \$3.00.

The subject of deportation has long concerned those who believe in the maintenance of the old principle of government by laws and not by men. Interest in deportation comes in waves. Following the war, when there was a hysterical outcry against "anarchists," the intense spirit of nationalism developed by the war was abroad in the land. At this time, protests against the illegal exercise of authority by an administrative official of high rank in charge of the immigration acts helped to interpret the immigration deportation provisions to the Americans concerned about the protection of human rights. The assistant secretary of labor, Louis F. Post, spoke out forcibly in the Congressional Hearings on the subject and later published an exceedingly valuable book—*The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty*—which showed how constitutional rights were violated in the methods of enforcing the immigration law. Statements by U.S. District Attorney Francis Fisher Kane were also helpful to many social workers, as well as lawyers.

The three volumes listed above represent a more carefully considered method of discussion. One of them is an official report for the Wickersham Commission and is as cautious and lawyer-like as Assistant Secretary Post's was forthright and denunciatory. The other two represent university research methods—careful, competent, thorough, but not moving.

The conclusions reached by Mr. Oppenheimer's official study are based upon a very careful review of all steps in the deportation process, and many of them have been long discussed and advocated by social workers. It is to be hoped that the report may bring about some greatly needed reforms. The fact that this controversial report was approved by all but two members of the Commission bears testimony to the convincing lawyer-like way in which the report was prepared.

Dr. Jane Clark's study, which reviews the growth and present status of the deportation policy, is based on a very careful study of the records of 568 cases in the fields of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor. These cases furnish valuable illustrative material throughout the book. Dr. Clark's study is "primarily descriptive," and she hesitates with true collegiate caution to reach conclusions "with any degree of finality" without "further investigation of facts." Dr. Clark looks to the development of "increased safeguards on the

administrative side" and thinks "the important fact for the alien seems not so much that review be granted by the regular judicial system as that review be freely granted by a higher body whether it be administrative or judicial." This is followed by a recommendation of an entirely new board, set up by presidential appointment.

Dean Van Vleck's study is a useful and competent book prepared under the auspices of the Legal Research Committee of the Commonwealth Fund. This study is based upon an examination of 1,000 of the cases in the files at Washington, and, like the other studies of this subject, Dean Van Vleck's book shows a very unsatisfactory administrative system now in operation. He also makes some valuable recommendations, modestly called "suggestions," which are not unlike those suggested by the authors of the other two volumes.

The three books are all competent studies in the field of administrative law and together constitute an exceedingly valuable contribution to a better understanding of the statutory regulations of immigration and the present methods of enforcement.

E. ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

International Unemployment: A Study of Fluctuations in Employment and Unemployment in Several Countries, 1910-1930. Edited by M. L. FLED-DÉRUS. Pp. iii+496.

World Social Economic Planning: The Necessity for Planned Adjustment of Productive Capacity and Standards of Living. Edited by M. L. FLED-DÉRUS. Pp. lxiii+935.

The Hague, Holland: International Industrial Relations Institute, 1932. Obtainable in United States from Room 600, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

The analysis of unemployment was undertaken to provide basic data for the Conference on World Social Economic Planning, held at Amsterdam (Holland), August, 1931, under the auspices of the International Industrial Relations Institute. The second title listed above is a report of this conference.

Analyses of fluctuations in employment and income were made for the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, Germany, China, and Soviet Russia. The period covered was 1910-30. These analyses, although frankly disappointing on account of the meager data, appear to have made the most of available data, and are therefore a substantial contribution. Except for the latter part of the period under review in the cases of Great Britain and Germany, the analyses are of employment rather than unemployment. The nature of the data makes impossible international comparisons of the amount of employment or unemployment, but is, perhaps, a fairly reliable picture of the trends and fluctuations within the several countries.

The theme of the Social Economic Planning Congress was, "The Necessity for Planned Adjustment of Productive Capacity and Standards of Living." It was intended to place the emphasis upon international planning, but with the exception of two papers, notably those by Dr. Melchior Palyi and Dr. Lewis Lorwin, the discussions dealt with aspects of national planning and the international problems were treated quite incidentally.

The Congress afforded another opportunity for the deification of Frederick Taylor; gave the three Soviet delegates a world-platform from which to expound the marvels of their own handiwork, the soundness of Marxian doctrine, and the more plausible argument that a socialistic state is essential to any rationally planned economy; and lent encouragement to the co-operative movements; but got nowhere in demonstrating the possibility of a world-plan for production and consumption. In this collection there are, however, several papers of distinct merit.

Mary van Kleeck, chairman of the Program Committee, has summarized the congress thus: "To its members and to those who will study its publications, the significance of the 1931 World Social Economic Congress consists not in conclusions or final answers to problems, but in its stimulus to research and experiment. . . ."

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Seasonal Variations in Employment in Manufacturing Industries. A Statistical Study Based on Census Data. By J. PARKER BURSK. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. xiii+197. \$2.50.

In this excellent study the author carries analysis of seasonality of industry farther than previous work on the subject by tracing seasonal changes in separate industries. He does so because combining groups of industries to form an index of seasonality covers up the situation existing in the component groups. Using Census of Manufactures data, he breaks down the larger classifications, tracing the seasonality of the sub-groups and suggesting causes. He checks his results with those of a special study by the Federal Reserve Board for fifty-two industries, one made for Ohio and one for Pennsylvania.

The author points out the defects in the census data for determination of seasonality when such variations are not constant year after year. He shows the loss of significant information arising from too inclusive classification of industries. He mentions possible geographical variations in seasonality hidden by the national figures. He says that indices of seasonality tend to minimize fluctuations because they merely show the extent to which the total amount of seasonal variations of different industries fail to cancel each other. They also minimize the problems to the worker because he cannot move freely from one seasonal occupation to another. For clearer understanding of problems of seasonality he suggests regrouping of the census classifications of industry. He makes important recommendations for further investigations of the problem.

This study is another of the important contributions of the Industrial Research Department of the University of Pennsylvania to our understanding of unemployment.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

Textile Unionism and the South. ("The University of North Carolina Social Study Series.") By GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. ix+92. \$1.00.

Mr. Mitchell has written a brief "study of a long, and some think useless, agitation"—that of the fight for unions in southern cotton mills. In addition to the two chapters on the actual southern development, there are (1) a Preface, giving the author's point of view that the results of the years of trade union efforts have been largely educational; (2) a summary of what has happened in northern textile unions, showing how their internal conflicts have weakened activities in the South; and (3) a conclusion balancing the liabilities and assets of the southern union movement at the present time.

The main part of the study, comprising more than two-thirds of the book, deals with the labor agitations in the South during the four periods, 1886-90, 1898-1900, 1913-21, and 1928-30. But this is not a history: it is a chronicle of events, with practically none of the actors appearing. It is an accurate sketching of the spasmodic attempts and consistent failures of southern unionism. It is a sound and useful academic study, being a compilation of factual statements drawn from obvious sources, such as newspapers, journals, and the proceedings of several unions. Probably material does not exist for doing more.

The final five-page chapter, headed "Conclusions," is a balancing of the strong and weak points of southern unionism. Among the difficulties faced by southern workers Mr. Mitchell mentions the company-owned village; the newness of many to industrial life and collective action; the oversupply of workers coming into mills from the farms; poverty of factory operatives and weakness of northern unions in giving aid; hostility of political and commercial as well as manufacturing groups; and the failure of unions to enlist the most respected members of the mill village. Conditions favoring the development of unionism include the readiness of southern workers, in good times, to join the union; their sense of group loyalty; their lack of aggression and violence; the improvement in their education; and the development of more liberal middle-class opinion.

The author believes the courts, through the whole period, have been generally fair, the Gastonia and Marion trials being exceptions. He thinks that while for the most part leadership has come from outside, there have been important occasions when southern leadership was in charge and that this may become increasingly so as there is a growing feeling of sectional consciousness in all the southern state federations of labor.

ELIZABETH YATES WEBB

VASSAR COLLEGE
POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

When Southern Labor Stirs. By TOM TIPPETT. New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1931. Pp. xvi+348. \$2.50.

Although the southern labor situation passed some time ago from the front page of northern newspapers, it remains a serious business. So serious, in fact, that in the South we are trying to forget it is there. Mr. Tippet's book, *When Southern Labor Stirs*, leaves no doubt in one's mind as to the gravity of a state of affairs which has produced the recent epidemic of strikes with their bombings and evictions, kidnappings and killings. And he suggests that this is a mere beginning. He thinks that rudely jarring people into a realization that they have an ugly problem on hand is all of immediate importance accomplished by these strikes. But he does not feel that this is all they should have accomplished, if the state had not used force to break the unions and the American Federation of Labor had not been so respectable and vascillating.

The chapters giving the background of southern cotton mill communities is a necessary take-off for what follows, but its importance is negligible. On the other hand, the chapters on several of the large strikes, at Elizabethton, Gastonia, Marion, and Danville, are certainly worth reading. In them the author is outspoken about his own attitude toward Communists, manufacturers, the American Federation of Labor, and the state's policies; yet these discussions are not overly excitable in tone, and while other things might fairly be said, what Mr. Tippet has said of these strikes is essentially accurate and true.

In the remaining chapters, proposals for a labor program in southern mills and criticism of the American Federation of Labor's "union-management-cooperation-non-belligerent method" are two sides of the same discussion; because, in almost every instance, what is suggested for the future is what the Federation has failed to do in the past. The author believes a labor renaissance is at hand; that unionism is inevitable in the South; that the Federation "in its zeal in opposition to all things socialistic . . . has become a bulwark against liberalism," and unless it mends its policy of working hand in glove with employers to achieve "a nice sensible program through which everybody could be happy," it will not be able to cope with the southern situation. Its failure to achieve peaceable recognition of the union, to provide adequate financial support for the strikes, and to follow up the initial work effectively, is not attributed to stupidity but to the desire "to be business-like and respectable."

In contrast, Mr. Tippet proposes less timidity; more money, much more; a program of idealism and not mere business; the development of a keener sense of class solidarity, including unionization of negro workers; lining up liberal intellectuals; working with farmers through a political party which will aim at securing a more enlightened state policy toward strikes and labor conditions generally.

I should say that Mr. Tippet has thrown down the gauntlet!

VASSAR COLLEGE
POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

ELIZABETH YATES WEBB

Educational Experiments in Industry. By NATHANIEL PEPPER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 207. \$1.50.

Since the turn of the present century corporations in increasing numbers have been developing training programs within the company for their employees. By 1913 there were enough of these corporation schools to warrant the organization of the National Association of Corporation Schools. The problem of adjusting the horde of inexperienced workers during the war period greatly accelerated the expansion of training programs, and although the rate of expansion has slowed down during the last decade, the movement continues. Paralleling this private industrial training movement there has been an expanding program of public vocational training, which was given its most important impetus by the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917.

The present volume, the tenth in the "Studies in Adult Education" series, is a critical appraisal of the objectives and methods of vocational education and training as developed by both public and private agencies. It is not a tabular, fact-finding survey of the movement as a whole, but rather a critical evaluation based upon a close study of specific training programs representative of the more distinctive types of training theory and methods.

It is a stimulating and suggestive book and merits the attention of all interested in the subject of vocational education and training.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Jahrbuch für Sozialpolitik, 1931. By DR. GEIB. Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1931. Pp. 222. R.M. 6.40.

This second yearbook, edited by the German under-secretary of labor, shows by its contrast with that of 1930 the dire conditions against which the nation has been struggling. The 1930 *Yearbook* was mainly descriptive of the functions and operation of various divisions of the Ministry of Labor and allied services and agencies. The second volume, like the first a collection of brief articles by leaders in each field, is less descriptive and statistical and more devoted to discussion of changes within the year and arguments pro or con present policy.

Brief introductory statements by the editor and by the Minister of Labor are followed by discussion, in Section I, of legislation and court decisions for the year. Seven articles discuss the effects of the economic crisis upon legal minimum wages rates, compulsory arbitration and labor courts, social insurance, unemployment insurance, "value-creating unemployment relief" and federal pensions. Section II includes issues of the day, the attitude of the employers toward social legislation, the attitude of the trade unions toward rationalization and toward wages in relation to buying power, the problems of the city governments in the present administration of unemployment relief, a housing program for depression, and general problems of social politics in time of economic crisis. Section III includes a miscellaneous group of special problems, the protection of

women workers, problems of private relief agencies, the critical condition of the invalidity insurance system, and compulsory and voluntary labor schemes for the unemployed. A fourth section comprises articles on international labor conditions and politics. There is also a brief review of German literature in the field of social politics. The articles are the careful work of outstanding persons in each field.

M. R. C.

Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1931-1932.

Edited by MONROE N. WORK. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. 544. \$2.00.

The Negro in American National Politics. By WILLIAM F. NOWLIN.

Boston: The Stratford Co., 1931. Pp. 148. \$2.00.

The *Negro Year Book* has become an indispensable reference volume. The 1931-32 edition brings together a wide variety of materials and makes easily accessible an interesting body of current opinion and factual data that are both very readable and very useful. This is the eighth edition of the *Year Book*; and, since the issue of the first little volume in 1912, the form and content have improved and expanded with each new volume. The first four sections of the present volume deal with the Negro race in its geographical distribution; namely, The Negro in the United States, Latin America, Europe and Africa.

One reads of the growing racial consciousness of the Negro in the United States and that the Negro press is urging that "the time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races and to start out immediately to create and emulate heroes of his own." Problems of special importance to the race such as segregation, political disfranchisement, and other forms of race discrimination receive due attention. The chapter on "The Negro and Lynching" recounts the effort to secure a federal antilynching law and tells of the work of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, which in 1930 brought together a group of prominent Southern women who broadcast to the world a repudiation of lynching as "a defense of womanhood."

In the face of the severe economic disadvantage under which Negroes labor in many parts of the country, it is of interest to read of their steady expansion along many lines of business. A growing consciousness of their economic power which is used to boycott white firms failing to serve them with courtesy and consideration is also evident. The chapter on "Mortality Statistics" brings out in concise form the comparative birth- and death-rates of the white and Negro population; and, although the expectancy of life of the average Negro is still about that of the white thirty or forty years ago, there is statistical evidence of steady progress. The decline in death-rate is evident in every age group, with children under fifteen years showing the greatest improvement. The Negro migration during the last decade, with the shifting of the center of the Negro population and the increasing of urbanization and industrialization of the group, is another important subject which lends itself to statistical presentation.

The section on education is especially interesting and useful, including as it does a condensed historical account of the provisions for Negro education before the Civil War and bringing the story down to the present. There is a brief account of the co-operative plans carried forward under the auspices of the Rosenwald Fund which have brought together the resources of the Negroes themselves, local tax funds, appropriations made by the fund and the personal gifts of the late Mr. Rosenwald making possible the erection of 5,075 school units in southern states. Undoubtedly this particular effort which has done so much to stimulate the cause of Negro education throughout the South will become one of the most important chapters in the future history of the whole movement.

Part V covers the contribution of the Negro to poetry and the fine arts and records the many fine achievements of the race which have attracted such widespread interest in recent years. One is again reminded that the great poet Pushkin and the romantic novelists Dumas Père and Fils are claimed by the Negro race, while a creditable number of writers, poets, actors, musicians, sculptors, and painters are today making a distinct contribution to modern art. Needless to say the review is wholly uncritical. A very useful review of books about the Negro published between 1925-30 is included in the last section of the *Year Book* together with lists of various Negro organizations and agencies. The interesting material about the Negro in Latin America, Africa, and Europe can only be referred to in passing. Altogether the *Year Book* gives promise of becoming encyclopedic in scope and content.

Mr. Nowlin, the author of *The Negro in American National Politics*, is a graduate of Howard University and, in 1930, received his A.M. degree from Ohio State University. He describes the difficulties facing the Negro after the Civil War and the part played in local and national legislative assemblies by the early Negro congressmen. He also describes the dilemma in which the Negro citizen now finds himself in any attempt to attain those political rights so long denied him in many parts of the country. The position of the Negro in national campaigns, the attitude of certain presidents in regard to federal aid for education of Negroes, the place of the Negro in civil service, the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other phases of the question are briefly presented. The material is objectively written, and it is to be hoped that further studies and the publication of findings by Negro writers will be forthcoming.

ELIZABETH WISNER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

An Elementary Psychology of the Abnormal. By W. B. PILLSBURY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932. Pp. x+375. \$2.00.

The large number of texts written by psychologists on psychiatry suggests a growing interest of psychologists in the abnormal phenomena of personality, probably stimulated by the rapid development of the mental hygiene movement. This volume presents the material from a historical viewpoint, which

should give the student a picture of psychiatry as a living subject changing from decade to decade as greater insight is gained into the mechanisms of behavior. The factual material is presented clearly and simply, with the use of case material well chosen to describe the points in question. In describing the neuroses the more spectacular and rarer pathological occurrences, such as multiple personalities, are emphasized rather than the more common problems found in the anxieties, conversion hysterias, hypochondrias, etc. This may tend to give a distorted picture of the problems met in a psychiatric practice.

In the discussion of controversial theories, the author shows marked bias, condemning largely by derogatory words rather than offering sufficient material to allow the student to form his own judgment as to the validity of the theories. In particular is he antagonistic to the psychoanalytic viewpoint, and gives no indications of the development of the theory in the last ten or fifteen years and seems quite unaware of the evidence in this field. He offers a theory of his own in contradistinction to the concept of the "unconscious," in which he postulates various physiological neurone patterns. This theory is, of course, not new and has been offered frequently by analysts who wish to explain the "unconscious" in physiological and anatomical terms. But, even so, the present knowledge of brain activity makes any such theory highly speculative. The interesting theory which Pavlov has recently suggested explaining the development of neuroses on the basis of conditioned reflexes is not mentioned. However, mental-hygiene aims and the historical development of the movement are well described; and the author discusses "how the abnormal phenomena are related to the normal, both to indicate where abnormal psychological theory has modified the normal and to point out the normal acts that may be explained by laws developed for the normal."

MARGARET W. GERARD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Discovering Ourselves. By EDWARD A. STRECKER and KENNETH E. APPEL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xiii+306. \$3.00.

As the title suggests, this volume is a popular discussion of various theories of the motivation of human behavior. Like so many other books of the times endeavoring to do the same, there is an attempt to coalesce theories combining of necessity much "fancy" with facts. On the whole, however, the layman is presented with a clear explanation of terms used in present-day mental hygiene. The material is well organized, the style is simple and succinct, and the type is large, which happily increases the ease of reading. The descriptions of the theoretic concepts are graphically concretized in the illustrations so that no one should have difficulty in gaining some idea of the meaning. Although these drawings cannot be praised for artistic value, they expose certain elements of unconscious humor as in the two-dimensional figure resembling an animated boiler which is used to describe the various activities in which a person may indulge as an expression of his conflicts.

The authors avoid controversy by presenting conflicting theories and allowing the reader to choose his own. Such theories as Jung's extraversion and introversion, many phases of Freudian psychology, and the concepts of academic psychologists are woven into the material of the book although the authors of the theories are rarely mentioned. This does eliminate any emotional controversy which may arise in the reader's mind, but also decreases the value to the layman who is not in a position to evaluate for himself. This may be in part considered an asset, since much that is written for popular consumption is unfortunately evaluated from a prejudiced viewpoint. The book is well worth reading and should certainly be an aid toward understanding the "language" of mental hygiene.

M. W. G.

Children's Behavior Problems ("Behavior Research Fund Monographs").

By LUTON ACKERSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

Pp. xxii+268. \$4.00.

This volume is the first of a series of statistical studies based upon the clinical records of the cases at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research and covers 5,000 consecutive cases admitted to the clinic. The variables considered were those of sex, of intelligence quotient, of chronological age, and mental age. The importance of other factors in the etiology of behavior problems is mentioned, and their consideration is promised in future publications. Problems are divided into so-called personality problems and conduct problems. The summation of a number of undesirable traits noted for each child is termed the either personality total or the conduct total. This separation, used frequently by psychologists, is rather arbitrary and, on the whole, is probably unnecessary since so-called conduct problems usually have their origins in personality maladjustments. This is corroborated by one of the conclusions drawn from this study: that "the curves for *personality-total* were generally similar to those for *conduct-total*."

The method employed in the study is that of computing the incidence of recorded problems for the CA, MA, and IQ. The results are well illustrated in a wealth of chart material. The findings stated by the author suggest to him the following:

The largest single group of curves [IQ, MA, and CA plotted against various traits] showed a rise in incidence of undesirable behavior with increase in CA or IQ level. "Falling" and "level" incidence curves appeared less frequently. "Arched" curves, in which the incidence increased up to a certain CA or IQ level beyond which there was a marked decline, were least numerous among these four classifications. . . . The curves for *personality-total* were generally similar to those for *conduct-total*, the greatest apparent difference being that those for *personality-total* were more level. . . . The average number of behavior problems per child increased with age up to about 12 years, beyond which there was a decrease, followed by a further rise at the 17th year. These changing trends were more conspicuous among the children of IQ ranges 80-159 than

for the subgroup of lower intelligence. Among our children of pre-adolescent ages the average number of behavior difficulties increased with IQ level up to about 110-20 IQ, beyond which there was probably a decrease, especially among conduct problems as distinguished from personality problems. Among our older children, 13 to 17.9 years of age, the average number of behavior difficulties increased with IQ level up to about 70-90 IQ, beyond which there was a decrease, especially among conduct problems.

As Doctor Curt Rosenow has frequently emphasized, the quantitative method is most valuable in attempting to gain standards for behavior diagnosis and treatment. It is, however, important to control properly the data so that the "samples" used are sufficiently representative to warrant drawing conclusions. Biased samples have probably little logical connection with the truth. The author is well aware of the difficulties in control which his material offers and reiterates that "any quantitative results stated must be considered in relative rather than in absolute terms." The difficulties with which the material is fraught are numerous. In the first place, the problems are not representative of those of the population because of various selective factors. The average IQ is 80, which represents a much higher percentage of mental defectiveness in the group than is found in the average of the population. This should increase the percentage of problems most characteristic of the defectives. Another difficulty is that of overweighting in the age group of eight to fifteen. It is generally known that it is difficult to examine older children who have no personal desire for such examination and, therefore, the author's conclusion of a decrease in problems in the upper age groups may be dependent upon the difficulties of bringing such problems to the clinics. Thus, a large number of the problems actually existing were not studied. The most serious difficulty with material is, however, that resulting from the fact that most of the cases were not studied intensively. The problem stated by the parent or other referring agency is taken as the real problem. It is known that such first statements are frequently biased, and the actual problems are only unearthed after a considerable amount of study beyond the first contact. It would have aided somewhat in evaluating the conclusions of the author had he stated exactly the number of the cases seen only once, those seen more than once, and those studied intensively.

In spite of these difficulties the author believes that "the effect upon findings in the present inquiry would be rather one of understatement or obscuring than of misleading overstatement or distortion." Further studies from more controlled data will, of course, check the validity of this statement.

M. W. G.

Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems. By DOUGLAS THOM. With an Introduction by WILLIAM A. NEILSON. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932. Pp. xv+368. \$2.50.

Behaviour Aspects of Child Conduct. By ESTHER LORING RICHARDS. With a Foreword by ADOLF MEYER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. xv+299. \$2.50.

Your Child and His Parents: A Textbook for Child Study Groups. By ALICE C. BRILL and MAY PARDEE YOUTZ. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932. Pp. xii+339. \$2.50.

From his wealth of clinical experience Dr. Thom offers to parents and teachers his seasoned wisdom in the understanding of adolescents and helping them around the pitfalls of the age. As his *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* has become a classic for persons dealing with the young child, so is this volume a superior work to the multitude of books on the adolescent. Although Dr. Thom discusses in logical order the various phases of life, education, vocation, and sex, etc., the emphasis is on the maturity of the total personality and the rounded development of each individual to the full capacity of his capabilities.

... Although the maturity of the individual can only be judged in relation to the particular problems he has had to meet, there is a certain uniformity in the type of situation with which most individuals are confronted: The relation between child and parent, recognition of authority, adjustment to sex, finding the right vocation, marriage, the death of close relatives—these are all problems which are common to most individuals. Yet the degree of wisdom and stability with which the individual meets these situations is the real test of his maturity.

Neither does he neglect the responsibility of the parent who, in a rich and satisfactory life, provides the best background for the enrichment of the adolescent's life and understanding of the manifold trends he presents. Indeed, it is axiomatic that emotional starvation in the home becomes a basis for unwholesome experiment in emotional experience in the world. Thom does not condemn youthful deviation from the standards of the age but considers it an expression of courageousness and a step forward toward the establishment of a wiser and more satisfactory ethics. Practical details as well as general principles are discussed, such as the granting of freedom, of spending by the use of an adequate allowance, the details of recreational needs, the specific factors involved in vocational training for the average, inferior, or superior child, and so on. The present use of educational facilities and methods is criticized on the basis of their standardization and lack of adjustment to the individual needs, and the author pleads for more mental hygiene in the secondary schools with greater flexibility of the program to meet individual differences in endowment and interests. The whole text is richly supplied with apt case descriptions which drive home the points made and offer an interest to persons concerned particularly with the specific problems they themselves are meeting as teachers or parents.

Dr. Richards' volume is somewhat larger in scope than is that of Dr. Thom. She covers the whole field of child development and treats with the adolescent in a short chapter toward the end of the book. (Although a compilation of a series of lectures, there is a unity in the whole and a logical development of the material.) The orientation and emphasis on basic principles are similar to that of Dr. Thom, with perhaps a little more dogmatism and less tolerance for various theoretical approaches and more emphasis on "common sense" and the approach through "a balanced philosophy of life." The various phases of habit-training, recreational planning, and vocational placement are discussed in detail, and the author deplores the superficial knowledge of most persons dealing with children or teaching courses in psychology concerning personality. The book is delightfully written, in a rather dramatic vein, and is rich in explanatory similes such as that comparing our educational systems to the bed of Procrustes, to which the victim must be fitted rather than adjusting the bed to fit the individual.

Your Child and His Parents is more specifically a text than the other two volumes discussed above, and is directed to leaders of child-study groups. The various phases of the child's life and problems are taken up individually and in great detail. The discussion is focused on the material offered by the group, and for each division the group conversations are quoted verbatim. This necessarily makes for tedious reading and some confusion since there is much irrelevant conversation and reminiscing of the individual members concerning the behavior of their respective offspring. The book does give a good idea, however, of the type of persons with whom one deals in such a study group and the reactions one meets during discussions. The chapter on techniques of handling discussions and the Appendix of bibliographies of popular books and articles are perhaps more valuable than the verbose material in the bulk of the text.

MARGARET W. GERARD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Group Records of Four Clubs at the University Neighborhood Centers.

Prepared by STUDENTS IN THE COURSE IN GROUP WORK. Cleveland:
School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1930.
Pp. 343. \$2.00.

The chief value of this study lies in its exposure of the casualness and inadequacy of much of our group work. In some fifty to one hundred pages per club the work of four clubs, one for girls, one for boys, one for young working women, and one for married women with families, is given by means of a rather detailed account of club meetings, sketchy case histories of each club member and evaluations by the leader under the captions, statistics, assets and liabilities. The method of procedure with the clubs at best seems to have been to try to feel out the club members' interests and adapt club meetings to them. Progress through making fudge one week and fondant the next, and through games and trips,

seemed to lie in development of loyalty to the group and the leader, co-operation, initiative and leadership, and the creation of interests. Weakness lay in lack of definite objectives and program for the group on the part of the leader and frequent change of leadership. The study is helpful in indicating the process of growth of group consciousness but of little value, save by inference or criticism, for program-making or methods of group work. It is an honest description of just what went on externally in the group meetings, and significant as a pioneer in the field of group-work records.

M. R. C.

Wawokiye Camp. A Research Project in Group Work. By WILBUR I. NEWSTETTER. Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, 1930. Pp. 59. \$0.50.

The monograph attempts to measure group adjustment of boys under observation in camp for five weeks. Thirty boys were observed in each of the two camp sessions in the summer of 1929. Counselors and boys themselves rated the boys with reference to acceptability to the group and to the camp as a whole. All attempts to determine measures of capacity for group adjustment are to be welcomed, but use of correlations on sixty cases gives a specious sense of accuracy to the study.

M. R. C.

New Minds: New Men? The Emergence of the Soviet Citizen. By THOMAS WOODY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. xvi+528. \$4.00.

The high praise that this book has already received is completely justified. It projects itself in the field of education, as both the title and the subtitle indicate; but it understands education correctly and therefore conceives it generously. Less severely laid out than Professor Harper's *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, it sacrifices a certain appeal to the technical political scientist. But all it loses here, it gains in appreciation from those whose interest is in the whole, rather than in the political sector, of life. Filled with facts, the book nevertheless subordinates facts to interpretation, and throws over both alike a mantle of disciplined imagination which makes the book "literature" without removing it from the realm of science. Though quoting at the beginning Erasmus' dictum, "Give me, for a few years, the direction of education and I agree to transform the world," the author emerges at the end with complete caution as to the eventual success of this Soviet effort to make "new men" through the forcing of "new minds." There is, however, no lack of appreciation of either the ideals or the efforts to realize them. While most of the book is taken up with detailed observation upon, or digested reading about, the efforts themselves, the author concludes with a twelve-point summary of the morphology of the new mind which motivates these efforts. This mind-in-the-making recognizes "the superi-

ority of the principle of dictatorship"; it is "militant," "activistic," and "classless" in aim; it believes in "universal labor"; it is "secular, atheistic, and materialistic"; it is "political," "collectivistic," "non-nationalistic," and indeed "international"; it is "healthy" and "sexless." This book is as impartial as one is likely to get while communism remains militant. But it is not insipid. It is, in fact, replete with both information and inspiration.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia. By ALICE WITHROW FIELD. Preface by DEAN GEORGE F. ARPS, of the College of Education, Head of the Department of Psychology, Ohio State University. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1932. Pp. 241. \$3.00.

Criminal Abortion. By L. A. PARRY, M.D., B.S., F.R.C.S. London: John Bale Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 1932. Pp. 203. 10s. 6d.

The Cost of English Morals. By JANET CHANCE. With an Introduction by SIR THOMAS HORDER. London: Noel Douglas, 1931. Pp. 127. 5s.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, women in the United States were busy securing legislation emancipating married women from earlier incapacities in dealing with property rights and granting to them the right to be held legally responsible for their deliberate acts in contract or in tort. From about 1895 to 1910, they were securing rights as mothers in the custody and guardianship of their children; and, all the time, many were absorbed in trying to obtain the vote so that they could accomplish results directly. They were likewise attempting to widen their occupational opportunities, so that, married or single, they could be recognized as earning their own living. The older law placed all women under political, and to an extent under occupational, limitations; and married women were under special limitations with reference to their property, their children, and their own persons. Now that the political limitations are to an extent removed, there is no question but that they will move in the direction of acquiring rights to their own persons. This right was recognized to a degree when they obtained the right to own and use their wages when they worked outside the home for pay; but in the matter of marital companionship and of determining to what extent they will accept the consequence in child-bearing they have not yet the right to obtain necessary information or to adopt such practices as may seem good to them in facing that question.

Of course, what is unendurable will not be endured; and the general lack of accurate information on the subject of abortions in the United States conceals the extent to which women have attempted to find a way out.

These books call attention to the problem, to the importance of recognizing it honestly and freely, to the costs of failing so to deal with it, and to the way in which it is dealt with in a country in which the labor power and freedom of wom-

en are of value and in which the importance of child life to the state is recognized. In Russia, where, in 1929, 108,000,000 rubles or \$54,000,000 were expended from the public treasury in safeguarding the hygiene of infancy and maternity at the same time that in the United States a nation-wide governmental agency of the highest quality was allowed to lapse because to the administration in power neither high-grade administrative organizations nor the lives of mothers and babies were of importance in comparison with partisan political advantage, abortion is legalized under the following safeguards: (1) the operation must be performed by a licensed surgeon; (2) it must be accomplished by surgical treatment and not by medicine or drugs; (3) the woman must stay in bed three full days, and (4) after the operation, not go to work for two full weeks; (5) the operation must not terminate the first pregnancy unless probably necessary to protect the mother's life and the mother of not more than three children is urged not to demand it; (6) it must not be performed when the pregnancy has lasted $2\frac{1}{2}$ months or more; (7) the state recommends that all such operations be performed in a state hospital where there is a section definitely for the purpose and where women who carry or whose husbands carry social insurance can receive the treatment free of charge; (8) midwives and all persons not licensed doctors are strictly prohibited, and (9) private doctors whose operations result in the death of the patient can be tried for manslaughter.

The first of these volumes contains the results of a careful investigation of the methods already developed in Moscow and being extended as rapidly as practicable for the protection of women and the care of children throughout Soviet Russia.

As has been suggested, it contrasts strangely with the indifference recently evidenced by the administration in power during the past four years in the United States.

The statistics with reference to the practice of abortion in the United States are lacking. In Germany it is estimated that from 500,000 to 1,000,000 operations are performed each year, with about 1 prosecution to 400 or 500 abortions. In England the relative and absolute number of prosecutions is less; and in all the countries there is great concern that the law may be brought more into accord with the true situation, namely, that women, in the absence of safe contraceptive devices and respectful treatment with reference to their use, will use this ugly and dangerous method of birth-control. If the facts are brought out in any accurate and comprehensive way as to the extent to which this method of birth-control, however criminal, is resorted to by perfectly respectable married women, again the medical profession will be faced with the evidence of its general disregard for the protection of maternity and its responsibilities for the hideous wastage of mothers' lives and of children's well-being.

The second of these volumes sets out the complexity and difficulty of the problem as presented, in the face of the demands of women, to the legal and medical profession—especially the question of professional ethics in the case of

the doctor whose relation to his patient is not so fully safeguarded by the law of privilege as is the case of the lawyer with client and the priest with parishioner. The third is a plea for the recognition of the dignity of the sex relationship in the case of women whose attitude toward it has been warped by puritan doctrines and by legal development tending better to safeguard lines of descent than to recognize the essential decency and dignity of human relationships on which the succession of generations depends.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dawn in Russia, the Record of a Journey. By WALDO FRANK. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. 272. \$2.25.

The City of the Red Plague. By GEORG POPOFF; translated from the Russian by ROBIN JOHN. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932. Pp. 343. \$3.50.

It would be difficult to imagine a sharper contrast than that presented by these two new volumes on sovietism and bolshevism. Mr. Frank is a metaphysician, philosopher, sentimentalist, and explorer in the realm of ideas and spiritual values. Mr. Popoff is a former czarist soldier, a tory, and a victim of bolshevist rule. Neither professes to be an economist or expert on political science. Neither is a calm, dispassionate judge.

Mr. Frank tells us that he went to Russia not to conduct any serious researches but to loaf with his soul as a companion. He records his impressions, observations, sensations, little adventures. He found Russia inspiring and thrilling, despite many bizarre contradictions, crudities, and anomalies, and despite much filth, disorder, poverty, ignorance, and discomfort. He felt at home in holy primitive Russia, and he is convinced that the soviet communist régime is groping toward a synthesis of great worth to perplexed humanity. He asks us to work for communist Russia, and even to fight for it, to see that it gets a fair chance, but not blindly to imitate it.

Mr. Frank's book is far from being profound, and it will not convert a single opponent of bolshevism to its, or to his, somewhat mystical views. But it is replete with keen remarks, interesting reflections, and revealing anecdotes.

(Mr. Popoff's work is a violent attack on soviet rule in Riga as he and his family observed and felt it in the short period between January and May, 1919. There is no doubt that the narrative is as sincere and truthful as it is vivid.) What the red terror did in and to Riga's bourgeois and other non-proletarian elements is indeed shocking. But Mr. Popoff is rather superficial in his interpretation of some events he witnessed. And he is mistaken in assuming that what happened in Riga in 1919 would necessarily happen anywhere in the West should the reds succeed in wresting power from the present governments. Moscow or Leningrad in 1932 is infinitely more significant to the world than the story of Riga under chaotic and revolutionary conditions in 1919.

Mr. Popoff says he wants the civilized world to know just what soviet-proletarian government is. But what of Russia's white terror? What was that like?

Mr. Popoff's tragic story points to more than one moral. If the red army, heterogeneous and undisciplined, committed outrages, the Hooligans of his beloved Riga, reared under czarist rule, were only too ready to emulate that example. If the cooks and servants turned bolshevik in the twinkling of an eye, their aristocratic and cultivated masters must have been tyrannical, harsh, and arrogant beyond endurance. Moreover, the bourgeoisie of Riga gave no very heroic account of themselves in the crisis. Mr. Popoff admits that many of the merchants and other solid citizens displayed shameful cowardice and hypocrisy, pretending joyfully to welcome the red régime.

The book should be read as an authentic and exciting human document, but it proves absolutely nothing. Did the atrocities of carpet-bag rule in the South after the civil war prove anything against American civilization? Did the horrors of the Paris commune, or the savage reprisals of the forces of law and order under General Gallifet, prove anything against French civilization? It is idle to indict human nature on the strength of evidence of folly, brutality, lust, and irresponsibility manifested under abnormal and demoralizing conditions. We know we are not fully socialized, and the ape and tiger in most of us cannot be safely untied and let loose.

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

The Co-operative Movement in India. By ELEANOR M. HOUGH. London: P. S. King & Son, 1932. Pp. xviii+340. 15s.

At this time of controversy in respect to the government of India, it is refreshing to turn from the subject of political status to this practical study of social and economic conditions, made without prejudice by a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in George Washington University. In her analysis of co-operation in agriculture as a practical undertaking in India, sponsored (and still largely directed) by the British government, Dr. Hough has given the reader a picture of the Indian people in their everyday setting, which, though limited to some three hundred pages, is unusually convincing. In a field where, as experience has shown, it is easy to stir the emotions, the author is scientifically objective throughout. At the same time, she is never dull, and, as one reads, interest for India in the co-operation formula—better farming, better business, better living—can hardly fail to develop. So far, the movement in India is little more than a credit movement, and it is not difficult to find in it many grave defects. At the same time, it can show gratifyingly steady progress and holds genuine promise, especially for the agriculturalist and, less immediately, for the artisan. Special interest for all workers centers in co-operative housing projects, which have been very successful in some provinces. The idea that co-operative endeavor is definitely linked up, not only with economic, but also with social and

political emancipation, is not overlooked by Dr. Hough, and her interpretation of this factor at work adds definitely to the sociological value of her study.

An introduction by Sir Horace Plunkett is interesting and appreciative, and extensive appendixes make available the Co-operative Societies Act, numerous statistical tables, a good bibliography, and a list of nearly one thousand references.

MARGARET K. STRONG

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

The Industrial Efficiency of India. By RAJANI KANTA DAS. London: P. S. King & Son, 1930. Pp. xii+212. 8s. 2d.

This is a valuable and informing treatise on a question of the most profound importance. It is, in a sense, non-political, though not wholly objective.

The author asks and answers the question: Why is India so woefully poor and backward economically and technically? Foreign rule and foreign exploitation account for some of the existing ills, but not for all or most of them. Illiteracy, lack of vocational training, neglect of research, belated and misapplied let-alone policies, account for more.

Mr. Das is candid and critical, but his main purpose is constructive. He shows how India's productivity and industrial efficiency may be enhanced; and he submits specific recommendations with reference to finance, organization, direction of industrial effort, encouragement of technical and economic improvements in various directions. He takes care to give statistical and documentary evidence in support of all his proposals. Interested as he is in spiritual and cultural values, he is satisfied—and few will disagree with him after attentively reading his little book—that “it is through industrial efficiency alone that India can fully utilize her immense resources of land, labor, and capital for the wealth and welfare of her people, and lay the material foundation for their moral and intellectual progress.”

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis. The Report of a Preliminary Survey of the Town of Ching Ho, Hopei, North China. Edited by LEONARD S. HSU. Peiping, China: Yenching University, 1930. Pp. 146.

The co-operation won from the villagers, the training and supervision of the students who made the survey, and the fact that they and the entire committee were Chinese would raise the expectation that the intimate and intensive details on their schedules might have been more accurately filled out than in other community studies in China.

The book is mainly for use in that country but has adequate explanations for the understanding of those elsewhere who wish a concise, quantitative report of a Chinese village, its history, location, population, family and other social relationships, and economic and political organization. Numerous tables pro-

vide a bird's-eye view of every detail, but these are evaluated very critically in the text.

While "the first intention . . . has been an exploration of both qualitative and quantitative facts in a rural market town during . . . 1928-1929," "the working out of suitable methods for further . . . survey has been still more important," as also was the training of students.

A series of such careful studies, scattered over different localities and types of communities, would provide us with much-needed, more accurate knowledge of China.

JEAN DICKINSON POTTER

CHICAGO

The Economic Aspects of Native Segregation in South Africa. By JOHN KIRK. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1929. Pp. 148. 6s.

According to the *Negro Year Book* for 1931-32, the total population of the Union of South Africa is 9,786,379, of which 6,517,883 are natives, 1,542,182 Asiatics mixed with others, and the remaining 1,726,314 are white. Therefore, the problem of segregation, and particularly territorial segregation as set forth in the Land Act of 1913, becomes a highly controversial question of tremendous social importance to South Africans, a politically delicate subject to the British Empire, and of special interest to all students of racial problems.

Mr. Kirk is one of the younger group of South Africans presumably concerned with an unbiased and scientific study of the economic aspects of segregation. He discusses the case for complete territorial segregation as against "possessory" segregation, or the setting aside of certain areas to be owned by the native but on which he need not permanently reside. He agrees with those who hold that a policy of segregation is essential for the protection of the native as well as desirable for the white population. The well-known spokesman of this policy, General J. C. Smuts, in his volume *Africa and Some World Problems*, covering the Rhodes Memorial lectures delivered at Oxford in 1929, reaffirms the segregation doctrine.

The reader of Mr. Kirk's monograph will want to consult other sources and particularly those that present the other side of the question. A critical examination of "General Smuts' Views," one of the articles in the *Negro Year Book* for 1931-32, is an interesting reply to those who incline to a too easy solution of the problem through their advocacy of segregation.

ELIZABETH WISNER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Women's Place in Industry and Home. By SYLVIA ANTHONY. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1932. Pp. xi+243. 10s. 6d.

A reviewer in an English journal recently asked "Who reads books about women?" Evidently, the demand is sufficient to encourage publishers to venture again with discussions of women and their changing status. But this book is not

so much about women as about the general industrial and occupational situation in England in these post-war days, and about the home into which both in England and America an increasing number of women are going, since marriage is increasing in both countries.

Mrs. Anthony has given a comprehensive statement, showing that she is aware that women are both inside and outside the home, and the question is how to overcome the disastrous effects of the earlier assumption that they must choose and remain on one side of the door which was supposed to separate the two aspects of life which are so natural for the man and apparently so alien to the woman.

That women have always worked, that in earlier times they have produced and determined consumption, that in later times they must still produce, and that the world is a more foolish place when they no longer determine consumption has been difficult for those in control of government, of labor organizations, of business, to acknowledge. That women who as women, that is, as wives, daughters, sisters, must be tremendously affected by whatever lowers the standard of life should be placed so that they can secure the opportunity of doing their productive share only by offering cheapness and so pulling down the standard of life is one of the cruel ironies of the present order.

Mrs. Anthony constantly recalls to the reader's attention those factors in the domestic situation that affect disastrously the pathway of the gainfully employed women. She makes one serious mistake, however, in setting out the legal position of the wife under the common law when she says (p. 4) that the common law established the principle that a husband should support his wife "according to his means." The doctrine of *necessaries* did not imply that. Rather it imposed merely the obligation to continue to support her in accordance with the standard he had set for her. That most men support in accordance with or beyond their means does not soften the harshness of the earlier law that, having been given the title or management of all she had, he then could not stop supporting her, provided she was without fault. That doctrine, however, is relatively unimportant here. The point is that Mrs. Anthony insists that the two aspects of the woman's life must be held in mind, whether thinking of her job, of her relation to other workers, to her pay, to her domestic rights and obligations, to her racial importance—always she must be kept in mind as of the feminine gender and as a human being too.

The situation in Great Britain with its surplus of women is very different from that in the United States; yet the reactions of the men workers and men who have had possession of the machinery of government are so similar that American readers will be greatly interested. The discussion of protective legislation in a country which does not have to persuade the courts as well as Parliament, where Trade Boards can fix minimum wage rates for men as well as for women, and where, therefore, the possibility of setting national minima for both men and women is not so remote as in the United States, takes on a different

aspect from that in this country where the men will rely on the collective bargain for themselves but have been relatively indifferent to the development of trade unions among women and are not sorry to benefit from laws shortening the working day for women workers.

Mrs. Anthony brings out the "adventitious" character of much of women's work, the disastrous effect of the prospect of marriage on their occupational morale, and supplements in a very interesting fashion the brilliant minority report submitted by Mrs. Sydney Webb in connection with the War Cabinet Committee on Women's Work.

The final chapter, in which the author discusses the direction of change, will be found interesting reading. She believes in a larger freedom (p. 342) and speaks of women's economic renaissance "to be accomplished through the establishment of equal pay, the recognition of social responsibility for children and the welfare of maternity, and the organization and encouragement of mobility between home making and paid occupations"; and she foretells a change, especially in the mentality of women, in social welfare, in industrial prosperity, and in individual happiness.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Consecratio Medici and Other Papers. By HARVEY CUSHING. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1929. Pp. 276. \$2.50.

Physician and Patient: Personal Care. Edited by L. EUGENE EMERSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. viii+244. \$2.50.

The Care of the Patient. By FRANCIS WELD PEABODY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. 48. \$1.00.

Consecratio Medici is a collection of papers which takes its title from the introductory essay. These are addresses—for the most part, occasional in character—and there seems at first no thread which holds them together. But as we read we find that the unity is in our growing appreciation of the author. Dr. Cushing, best known for his great biography of Osler, shines out as the combination of physician, teacher, scholar, and citizen. To doctors, he particularly holds up the need of broad culture to go with exact scientific knowledge, and to lay people he presents members of the medical profession, and scenes in which they work, with compelling charm. Probably the paper, "William Osler, the Man," is the one that will command the most general interest, but "The Doctor and His Books" is the best example of the combination of humor and seriousness that gives the book its special flavor.

Physician and Patient is a series of addresses given at the Harvard Medical School on the human—rather than the technical—side of medicine. Its purpose, as stated by the editor, is "to set the official seal of approval by the highest authority possible on the idea that a patient is a person, not a test tube in a labora-

tory, or an aggregation of organs, or a mere machine, and is to be cared for accordingly." The book is of special interest to lay people because as these leaders in the medical profession present the needs of the whole patient—body, mind, and spirit—they unconsciously give us an inspiring revelation of themselves. We close the book with a new appreciation of the faith, honesty, good cheer, and innate respect for our fellow-man that we must have if we are to give effective human service.

One of the choicest essays written by a member of the medical profession is this tiny book of Dr. Peabody's *The Care of the Patient*. It is inspiring in itself, and inspiring too in bringing before us the man he was—physician, teacher, and above all the understanding friend of all his patients. Doctor Peabody is stressing the point that medicine is not truly scientific if it ignores the personal factors that play such a large part in any illness. And he draws a picture for the medical student of the unique opportunity which he has to be the friend and confidant of the homesick, frightened patient in the hospital ward, that must make any medical student have a new respect for himself, and a new devotion to the profession which he enters. The social worker will gain from these pages an understanding of her people when illness overtakes them, and of the institution to which they must go for care. And when either doctor or social worker has let pressure of work or preoccupation with detail dim his vision of the patient in his real setting of interests in home, and work, and community, he will do well to sit down quietly by himself and read this book again.

LOUISE B. POWERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Education of Jeremy Bentham. By CHARLES WARREN EVERETT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xxii+216. \$2.50.

This book is timely in view of the centenary of the death of Bentham (1748-1832); and it will be useful not only to social scientists but to social workers who are interested in the various social reform movements which marked the last third of the eighteenth and the first third of the nineteenth century. *The Education of Jeremy Bentham* deals not merely with the period of his childhood but the various influences that shaped his great career. The author, however, thinks that Bentham's education was "completed in a very real sense" before the outbreak of the French Revolution.

There is a chapter dealing with Bentham's long journey to the Russian Caucasus, where he visited his brother Samuel. Bentham had studied Russian but found his study of small help to him. "I knew just as much of Russ as I know of the language of cats," he said. "I could speak their language and obtain an answer, but the answer I never understood."

Bentham's famous plan of the "Panopticon" or Inspection House was worked out in Russia. "The subject of prison reform had a logical interest for the reformer of penal law."

As a result of the publication of Howard's *State of the Prisons* the Hard Labour Bill or Penitentiary Act was passed in 1778 to provide new and better prisons for the convicts who could no longer be shipped to the American Colonies. Bentham's plan was for a "Penitentiary House" that would serve the purpose of detention. Among other innovations, destined, like many unfortunate and well-meant "reforms" to inflict new misery upon those whom it was intended to help, Bentham's plan suggested contract labor, a policy destined to have a long and infamous history across the Atlantic. Under the "contract principle," as Bentham called it, each prison governor was to "feed and care for each prisoner for a fixed sum, smaller in amount than the cost of transportation or imprisonment on the old plan. In return he was to have whatever profit he could make from the labor of the prisoners." But this is not the place to discuss the Panopticon nor the other prolific but frequently impractical schemes of that fertile mind. The book contains a charming portrait of the young Jeremy.

E. A.

BRIEF NOTICES

The Molly Maguires. By ANTHONY BIMBA. New York: International Publishers, 1932. Pp. 144. \$1.50.

The Mollie Maguire outrages were the activities undertaken in self-defense by the militant Irish miners of the 1870's; and to those whose knowledge of this organization is based on the familiar accounts of Deweese and Pinkerton, this book presents a new view of the activities of the "Mollies" in Pennsylvania. Here the nineteen miners who were executed as murderers are presented as militant labor leaders defending the rights of the workers against the powerful coal barons of the seventies of the last century.

The author quotes Eugene V. Debs, who said in 1907 that the miners who were executed as Molly Maguire terrorists "were labor leaders, the first martyrs of the class struggle in the United States" (p. 17).

A very interesting account is given of the background of the struggle; of conditions in the anthracite coal fields in the early days of the coal-mining industry in Pennsylvania when the anthracite regions of that state were being developed into thriving mining towns and the great waves of migration were not unlike the days of the California rush of 1849. For more than half a century, however, conditions for the workers remained very perilous—casualty lists were very high, wages miserably low, company stores were everywhere, mines were unsafe and dangerous, little boys were employed, and efforts to improve conditions among the workers undoubtedly met with bitter hostility. The use of labor spies and provocateurs is clearly set out; and there are interesting quotations from early labor papers, miners' songs, and other material not easily accessible to the ordinary reader.

Undoubtedly the struggle carried on by the Irish miners under the cloak of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (popularly called "Mollie Maguires") was an aftermath of the depression of 1873 and all its cruel consequences to the workers which led to a life-and-death struggle between the miners and the operators in the anthracite regions.

The so-called Mollie Maguire organization served as the "secret organizational center of the miners through which they combated the intensified starvation and misery which the employers imposed on them after the unsuccessful strike [of 1875]" (p. 67). The "A.O.H." or "Mollie Maguires" represented an attempt to re-establish by militant methods the union which the long strike had destroyed, and the execution of the nineteen miners charged with various "outrages" is said to be due to the determination of the mine owners to have the leaders of militant organization put out of the way.

The author of this little book vigorously compares the terrorism of the "A.O.H." with such modern warfare as the "struggle of the textile workers of Gastonia, N.C., in 1929, when seven strike leaders and nine workers were sentenced to long prison terms for defending themselves and the tent colony of the strikers from an armed onslaught of police and company thugs" (p. 72).

Portrait of an Independent. Moorfield Storey, 1845-1929. By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. Pp. iv+383. \$3.50.

This is a great life of a great American, the interesting story of a pioneer American liberal in the finest sense of that word. Moorfield Storey was a great lawyer who followed the highest traditions of the bar. Beginning his career as a secretary for Charles Sumner, he later became a great Boston lawyer. But he was much more than that. He was a distinguished leader of a distinguished following in the Mugwump and Anti-Imperialist movements in Boston and a supporter of justice and fair treatment for the underdog in many a hotly contested struggle. Beginning with his early apprenticeship under Sumner, Storey remained throughout his life devoted to the cause of securing justice for the emancipated Negro. He became one of the founders and leading supporters of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in the latter part of his life, which is described by some words which he spoke for a very different purpose, "We can engage in no nobler warfare than the defense of Truth wherever we may find her opposed or oppressed."

Versicherung, Fürsorge, und Krisenrisiko. By FRIEDA WUNDERLICH. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von Luehe & Co., 1932. Pp. 63. Rm. 1.80.

This is an excellent brief discussion of German social insurance, pensions, and poor relief. The major elements in these systems, the significant changes since their initial establishment, and their interrelationships to each other are compactly given. The author suggests that supplement of unemployment with pensions and poor relief at the present time evidences the necessity for differentiating normal actuarial risks from measures demanded by a crisis.

M. R. C.

Die Wirtschaftlichen Funktionen der Sozialversicherung. Edited by HILDE OPPENHEIMER. Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, 1932. Pp. 134.

The German Socialist Society for Economic and Social Investigation undertook a study of the economic effects of social insurance. The result is this volume of seven articles, with introductory and concluding statements by Dr. Oppenheimer, the able researcher into the social implications of economic policies in the German Ministry

of Labor. Chapter i deals with social insurance in relation to capacity to work. It shows how the simple concept of indemnification for injury has expanded to include rehabilitation and even maintenance of working capacity in ever wider occupational circles, extending through all age groups from pre-natal care to old age. Chapter ii contains articles on the direct and indirect effects of social insurance upon the labor market. In it the authors differentiate between unemployment and the other forms of social insurance, and between the preventive and compensating functions of social insurance in their effects upon the labor supply. The difficult question of relationship between wages rates and social insurance is touched upon. The third chapter deals with social insurance and the demand for goods. It discusses stabilization of demand, changes in demand and the effects of services, such as medical care given by the insurance societies, upon demand. A chapter stresses the importance of social insurance in the accumulation of capital. Another deals with the relation of social insurance to costs of production. How far insurance has affected the German export market the authors find it impossible to say, but suggest that any possible loss resulting is nothing like so great as would have been the costs of failure to provide at least a modest minimum of existence for the population. They suggest that the ultimate end of political economy is not goods but men.

M. R. C.

Ruskin's Guild of St. George. By EDITH HOPE SCOTT, with an Introduction by SIR MICHAEL E. SADLER. London: Methuen & Co., 1931. Pp. xiii+134. 7s. 6d.

The lessons of a great social experiment of an earlier generation are set forth in this book. *The Guild of St. George* was based on letters in Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*, and Miss Hope Scott gives us a short account of the ideals of the Guild during the life of its founder and the thirty years since his death—an account of what the Guild did “either actually or by the power of its spirit.”

The book includes some of Ruskin's letters, and in one he wonders “how the more or less visionary talk of my books can have been of use” to a “practically cheerful and strong mind.”

It is probably true, as Miss Hope Scott tells us, quoting from another follower, that “much of what Ruskin wrote is now part of the common wisdom of his country, just as much of what he denounced is now regarded as deserving all the abuse he gave it.”

Sir Michael Sadler, in an interesting Introduction, reminds us that Karl Marx and John Ruskin, living within four miles of one another in London, produced during the same period of years *Das Kapital* and *Unto This Last*, which are described as “two seminal books” that have “coloured the economic thought of Europe, including Russia, during the last sixty years.” Both men are described as “pioneers of social revolution” although they were “fundamentally opposed in their reading of human destiny.” Sir Michael's Introduction alone makes this book well worth while.

London below Bridges: Its Boys and Its Future. By HUBERT SECRETAN. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1931. Pp. xiii+208. 3s. 6d.

That part of London, south of and below London Bridge, is little known to Americans, many of whom will be interested in this account of the problem of the boys along

the South London riverside, a region familiar to readers of Dickens. Those who come into London Bridge Station look out upon "an undulating sea of grimy roofs" over which a "monotonous ocean of clustered chimneys, all shapes and sizes," pour smoke into the river mist that settles over the ancient marches now populous with tenements. Something like half a million people live there today.

Mr. Alexander Paterson, now one of His Majesty's Prison Commissioners, sketches some of the changes in South London since he wrote *Across the Bridges* nearly two decades ago. Mr. Paterson in his introductory note introduces the author of the book, Mr. Secretan, as an Oxford man who has been warden of the Oxford and Bermondsey Club "below the bridges" and who is well known in London for his work for boys in the South London riverside region.

In a chapter on "Trouble," the author pays a fine tribute "to the honesty of family tradition and boy nature." In spite of the fact that South London boys face great temptations, Mr. Secretan says that "fortunately most families prize their honesty as much as their independence and that is the primary reason why so many riverside boys grow up with an almost meticulous sense of honorable dealing." But the easy descent into the paths of thievery is also sketched, and the consequent hearing at the children's court, probation, the Borstal institution are all discussed. The book will be interesting to all who are interested in boys!

The Life of Edward Jenner, M.D., F.R.S., Naturalist and Discoverer of Vaccination. By F. DAWTREY DREWITT. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Pp. viii+137. \$2.00.

This book tells the interesting story of an early physician. Professional education in the eighteenth century is in itself a story worth reading. Jenner began by studying pharmacy and surgery under a Bristol doctor; and then, at twenty, he became a pupil of the famous John Hunter at St. George's Hospital in London. He went back to the county of Gloucestershire and built up a practice in a region he knew well; and valuable details are given of a general practitioner's services at the close of the eighteenth century. At this time, smallpox was one of the most dreaded diseases, with a high mortality rate, and often with very serious consequences to those who survived, leaving the victims not only with scarred faces but also leaving them blind, deaf, or insane (p. 50). Inoculation had long been practiced but had not been a success. Jenner's discovery of the possibilities of vaccination as a substitute for inoculation dates from 1796, and his joy at "being the instrument destined to take away from the world one of its greatest calamities" is described.

Vaccination (as opposed to inoculation) was introduced into America and approved by President John Adams. However, an account is given of the difficulties of procuring clean lymph and preventing the activity of charlatans.

Jenner labored long and hard to teach the correct practice of vaccination. At Cheltenham he "offered gratuitous vaccination to all the poor, and great numbers of children were brought to him from the town and from surrounding parishes." In one parish, authorities suddenly ordered vaccination for all the large number of children there because "the cost of coffins for the children who were cut off by small pox proved burdensome to the parish."

Jenner was not only a great scientist in his day, but he was also filled with courage

and enthusiasm in the promotion of a great social reform. He willingly sacrificed much of his private fortune and gave infinite time and patience to the laborious work of instructing numerous recruits. At his home, he vaccinated "all who came" without charge and sometimes "he had nearly 300 persons at his door." He lived to see smallpox, one of the scourges of his time, almost destroyed by his great discovery, and skilful efforts to educate the people of the civilized world to understand its use honored by his contemporaries.

Why Marriage? (A Frank Discussion of Domestic Psychology). By S. L. KATZ-OFF, M.D., LL.B. San Francisco: Institute of Domestic Relations, 1932. Pp. 140.

It is difficult to treat seriously this little volume that opens with a full-page photograph of the author. The volume contains the imaginary experiences of a young couple, Betty and Bob, who confide their difficulties to the doctor. Probably they and others may have received help as a result. To speak of these difficulties has some of the value of the confession. We are promised a treatment of *Why Divorce?* of *Let's Be Healthy*, and a succession of volumes intended to smooth the path of those who venture on the untried voyage of the matrimonial route. Undoubtedly Institutes and Clinics and Bureaus of Domestic Relations will help some puzzled souls out of dark and puzzled confusion. That should perhaps be something for which to be grateful.

Sozialtherapie und Psychotherapie in den Methoden der Fürsorge. By SIDDY WRONSKY and ARTHUR KRONFELD. Berlin: Heymann, 1932. Pp. vi+120.

After a brief sociological discussion of care for needy persons the book gives briefly something of Miss Richmond's approach in *Social Diagnosis*, adding cases. Then follows a short discussion, with cases, of social prognosis and social therapy. The second half of the book deals with psychotherapy in relation to social work. For an American social worker the book is quite elementary.

M. R. C.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

GERMAN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

Richlinien für die Lehrpläne der Wohlfahrtsschulen. Herausgegeben vom Preussischen Ministerium für Volkswohlfahrt. Berlin: Heymanns, 1930. Pp. iv+103.

This volume¹ is the work of a Commission appointed by the Prussian Minister of Public Welfare to determine curricula for state recognized schools for social work. It begins with a statement of the aims of schools for social work, which places such schools in a category somewhat different from our professional schools for social work in the United States. In the first place, it definitely defines schools for social work as Frauenschulen. In the second place, it calls these schools technical schools. Throughout there is the feeling of technical training rather than of education for a profession. There is no discussion of prerequisites for admission to these schools. In fact, the Commission takes it for granted that the educational background of students will be varied. In actual practice this means that persons may enter with an exceedingly limited educational background.

The strength of the scheme lies in an attempt of the state to fix minimum content of courses for these schools and to require a state examination for social workers, the examination to include practical work in the field and both a written and an oral examination. Field work looms large in the plan for training, a minimum of what would amount to six months of full-time work being required in a two-year course. The field work is expected to cover not less than two nor more than three branches of social work, the student, after the two-year course, being expected to give a year to field work somewhat in the nature of an internship.

The report then gives curriculum material for the first and for the second years in the following branches: the general field of social work, economics and social politics, psychology and pedagogy, public health, social legislation and public welfare administration, social work in private agencies, physical culture. The objectives and methods of field work are also discussed.

M. R. C.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED CHILD IN INDUSTRY

The Employment of Mentally Deficient Boys and Girls. By ALICE CHANNING. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 210.) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. x+107. \$0.20.

The development in public care of the so-called defective groups goes along very much the same line whatever the form of defect. The burden to the com-

¹ The School of Social Service hopes to publish a translation of this report at an early date.

munity and the unhappiness of the individual in the absence of proper care points to public provision of an institutional character; and, generally, because of the cost of care and the relatively small number of individuals in any community, the creation of a state institution has seemed to meet the need. It has been so with the deaf, with the blind, and with the mentally subnormal. And, then, the limitations of institutional care become obvious, the numbers in the more congested communities increase, social case work suggests other methods of provision, and the school authorities gradually appreciate both their obligation and their opportunity in the education of the special groups. However, in each case there is need of knowing the cost to the community and the chance for the individual child or young person to find his or her opportunity in the community. This Report is another evidence of the reality with which the United States Children's Bureau advises the consideration of developing new provision of care. Perhaps nowhere has the inexorable cruelty of the industrial organization, characteristic of the last three-quarters of a century, been more apparent than in the way in which the helpless children and young persons were subjected to its processes. Children have always worked, and they should have the opportunity to develop their powers at the proper moment, but this means deciding their activities in accordance with their capacity and not either exploiting their economic helplessness nor laying on them the burdens of adult responsibility.

In this report, the data are assembled with reference to the capacities of the subnormal group, who have had the discipline either of the state institution, or of the special class provided by the city school system. Young persons, 949 boys and girls who had been in the special classes in a number of cities in different parts of the country, and 167 boys and girls who had been in the State School for the Feeble-minded in Illinois, were studied with reference to the number and kind of positions held and the steadiness with which they held their jobs. Of course, most of their jobs were unskilled or semi-skilled, with wages low in comparison with the wages of skilled mechanics; most of the girls were either in factories or in some form of domestic or personal service. That most of them had given satisfaction was shown by the fact that they had held one job for a long time. For example, 74 per cent of the boys and 69 per cent of the girls had worked for one employer for at least a year.

That they did as well as they did in finding and holding their jobs, by the trial and error method, seems surprising; but in about one-fifth of the jobs, they were unsatisfactory, and it is recommended that in the case both of the special classes in the schools and in the state institution there should be provided social supervision that would include vocational guidance as well as other forms of social aid. A considerable number of the girls marry, and both before and after their marriage there is rich opportunity for assistance of a constructive and helpful kind, well justifying, it is believed, the apparent additional cost to the community either in its educational or public social organization.

ILLNESS AMONG COTTON SPINNERS

Sickness amongst Operatives in Lancashire Cotton Spinning Mills (with Special Reference to Workers in the Cardroom). By A. BRADFORD HILL. (Great Britain Medical Research Council, Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 59.) London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. xi+91. 1s. 6d.

This study of the cotton cardroom operatives was undertaken by the Industrial Health Research Board at the request of a departmental committee appointed five years ago by the home secretary to report on how the sickness rates among cardroom operatives compare with similar rates for the general population in the same locality. For a considerable number of years complaints had been made by the representatives of the cardroom operatives in Lancashire that those workers were suffering acutely from respiratory diseases, as a result of the environment in which they were compelled to work.

Morbidity rates are still in the pioneer stage of development, and the Board pointed out promptly that no sickness rates were available for the general population in the Lancashire cotton towns and to obtain any such rates by special inquiry was "virtually impossible." The following statement regarding the attempt to secure a satisfactory study is of interest:

To obtain such figures by special inquiry would be virtually impossible. It would involve the taking, by some means, of a local census of all workers insured under the National Health Insurance Acts; the Approved Society to which each belonged would have to be ascertained; and finally the sickness history for each of these workers would have to be secured over a specified period from each of the Approved Societies involved. This would undoubtedly mean approaching at least one hundred to two hundred Societies, very few of which would have any direct interest in the investigation. Quite apart from these difficulties in organizing such a form of inquiry it was suggested that "other operatives in spinning mills" would make a better comparative group than the "general population." In comparing sickness rates it is of very considerable importance to keep in view the amount of unemployment and the wage rates of the work-people, since sickness incidence *may* be affected by either. It is not difficult to allow for these factors if the comparison is confined to different groups of cotton operatives. It is far more intricate if the scores of industries to which the general population belongs all have to be examined. In addition, in comparing the cardroom workers with operatives in other parts of the mill the environment of each group can be studied. With the general population a very large number of industries would, possibly, have to be examined.

It was also pointed out that to have the comparison "absolutely controlled, as in a laboratory experiment," the ideal, of course, would be "a group of cardroom workers on the one hand, working in their normal environment, and on the other a group of workers doing precisely the same task but in an atmosphere completely free from dust and fibre." Since such a comparison was out of the question, it was clear that other cotton operatives most nearly supplied an adequate "control" group. Moreover, it was possible to secure sickness statistics for these workers since large numbers of them belonged to the one or two Approved Societies attached to the trade-unions.

The Registrar General's official occupational death-rates showed that strippers and grinders (i.e., the cardroom workers who are exposed to dust to the maximum extent), other workers in the cardroom, and the blowing-room hands all had in comparison with other operatives in the cotton industry, and in comparison with all males (occupied and retired) in England and Wales, high death-rates from respiratory diseases, the unfavorable position being most pronounced for the strippers and grinders. The latter also compared unfavorably at the older ages, with the general population of the towns in which they live. "Circulatory and allied diseases also seem to be important for cotton workers, but for the cardroom hands at least not nearly so acutely as the respiratory group of illnesses (with the exception of tuberculosis, the rates for which are low)."

A CHILD WELFARE BOARD IN NORWAY

What Becomes of the Children Removed from Home by Oslo Child Welfare Board? A Statistical Study Based on Experiences from Oslo Child Welfare Board, 1900-1928. By SIGNY ARCTANDER and SIGURD DAHLSTROM. Albany, N.Y.: New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1932. Pp. 138.

In this monograph is recorded one more of the recently popular attempts to measure the results of social work. Since 1900 Norway has had child welfare boards charged with the care of neglected, delinquent, and difficult children. About one-fourth of all the children thus treated have been in the care of the largest of these, the Oslo Child Welfare Board. This study does not describe the various kinds of treatment given by the Child Welfare Board but states that the Oslo Board "has to a constantly increasing extent resorted to the removal of children from their homes." Thus from 17.7 per cent of the total number of children dealt with in 1900-1901 to 55.2 per cent in 1929, a total of 3,347 children were given foster care during the twenty-eight years. It is this group that has been selected for study.

The study is entirely statistical and is based on records. No personal investigation of the discharged wards of the Child Welfare Board has been attempted. From the general register of the Board certain facts were assembled regarding all the children: name, sex, birthdate, age at time of removal from home, duration and type of treatment given by the Child Welfare Board, and the date of discharge. The study excluded 344 children who at the time of the study were under fourteen or who because of death, commitment to an institution, or emigration immediately upon discharge had had no opportunity of incurring punishment in Norway, and 241 more whose treatment by the Child Welfare Board was purely temporary—a matter of a few weeks or months only. This left a total of 1,800 boys and 962 girls included in the study. For these the *National Police Gazette* was examined for all records of convictions, and these records were correlated with age, sex, length of treatment, and age at the time of the child's removal from his home. The results are not unexpected. We have come to look for a large percentage of "failure" in work with delinquent children—and a

record of 32.9 per cent of boys and 4.8 per cent of girls who came "into conflict with the police after discharge" does not seem strikingly bad—even though the authors point out that the low percentage of convictions of girls is possibly due to the fact that the offense of prostitution, punishable by fine, is not recorded in the *Police Gazette* in Norway.

The authors themselves remark that although the children treated in reform schools show a much larger percentage of subsequent convictions than those receiving family care, this result is not especially significant since the reform schools are intended for and used for the older and more difficult children. Similar reasoning explains the fact that children given care in both family and reform schools have a large number of convictions, since those who failed to adjust to family life were moved to reform schools in an attempt to effect some improvement.

The one finding which the authors themselves seem to believe to be important is that the percentage of convictions for children removed from home after the age of eight rises sharply according to the age at removal and reaches its maximum (45 per cent) for those removed latest. "It is thus established that the time of intervention is of great importance." Common sense would lead one to expect that a change from a bad to a good environment is more likely to effect a change in personality and habits in a young child than in an older one. However, neglected and delinquent children are not distinguished in this study, and there is no assurance that the children removed from their homes at an early age are necessarily "predelinquent"—or that if by some prevision the children here sent to reform schools at thirteen to fifteen years of age could have been given foster care at an earlier age they would not have become delinquent. The assumption is that the children are "uniform material" given different treatment; but that is merely an assumption.

Several pages are devoted to the types of offenses committed by the children. Another short section gives the numbers of children who had received poor-relief according to the records of the Oslo Poor Relief Board, and still another part of the study lists the occupations followed by the children with detailed descriptions of various types of individual work-histories. This information was compiled from the *Oslo Register of Population*. In all these sections the information is correlated with such facts as the length of treatment by the Child Welfare Board and the age of the child at the time of his removal from home.

About one-fifth of the monograph (22 pp.) is a useful summary and comparison of eighteen similar studies made in America and Europe during the last ten years. Taken together, these studies certainly indicate not only that no "cure" for juvenile delinquency has been discovered but also that there is little clarity about the definitions either of "delinquency" or of "cure."

Statistical studies of the results of social work often, as in this case, largely in the form of a counting of failures, doubtless have a salutary effect on organizations and social workers who take it for granted that since they do "welfare work" their results are of necessity as good as their intentions. But until there

has been a more thorough analysis of and agreement regarding the basic conceptions involved in the causes and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the statistical method will, in the opinion of the reviewer at least, add very little to our understanding of the problems.

ETHEL VERRY

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COST OF LIVING

An International Enquiry into Cost of Living. A Comparative Study of Workers' Living Costs in Detroit (U.S.A.) and Fourteen European Cities ("International Labour Office Studies and Reports," Series N [Statistics], No. 17). Geneva, 1931. Pp. v+209. \$2.00. Distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

This study was undertaken in order to help the Ford management determine what wages it would need to pay in various European countries to yield to the workers the same satisfactions that the basic wage yielded in Detroit. The mere statement of the problem suggests its difficulties. As everybody knows, satisfactions are not measurable; and hence the problem is one of finding something that is measurable that can be translated into cost terms. The International Labour Office attacked this problem by finding out first what goods and services were bought by one hundred Detroit workers living on the basic wage. The results of that study, made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, were published in the *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1930, and summarized in an article in the *Social Service Review* for March, 1931. So far, their procedure was conventional enough and involved no unusual difficulties.

The next step brought the crux of the problem, the translation of these goods and services into their European "equivalents." It is impossible to describe the methods used within the limits of a review. Each item in the budget brought its own peculiar difficulties and called for a special method of treatment. In the food estimates, for example, the cost of food in each foreign city was found by taking a geometric mean of two ratios: Ratio I, the ratio of the cost of Detroit articles in Detroit quantities at the prices of the foreign city to the cost of the same articles in the same quantities at Detroit prices; Ratio II, the ratio of the cost of Detroit articles in quantities used in the foreign city at the prices of the foreign city to the same articles in the same quantity at Detroit prices. In other words, the figure made some allowance for different food habits in the foreign city, but not so much allowance as would have been made by figuring the cost of the diet of the European worker. In clothing, on the other hand, such articles used by the Detroit worker as could be purchased in the foreign city were priced in that city, and the ratio of those prices was allowed to stand for the whole. Thus, no concession was made to difference in habits of dress.

This is enough to indicate some of the difficulties of procedure and the meth-

ods of their solution. It should be noted that these two were much the easiest items in the budget; housing, fuel and light, medical expenses, and, above all, the group of expenditures called "miscellaneous" raised far more difficult questions and were capable of far less satisfactory solutions.

The figures which resulted from all these computations and their combination into a single series of relatives (cost of living in Detroit = 100) have been widely quoted. Less attention has been given to the difficulties of the task, the many assumptions on which the figures rest, and the doubtful decisions that had to be made at all points. It is one of the merits of the report itself that all these difficulties are exposed mercilessly. The reader may be left in the end with little confidence in the accuracy of the figures and a question whether they should be put forth as meaningful. But he can have no doubts about the care that was taken to get the best possible answer and the candor with which difficulties were faced. The student will find in the study another bill of particulars to put alongside the British Board of Trade reports of 1908-11 to substantiate the generalization that international comparisons of cost of living are difficult and dangerous, if not impossible.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

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TWO NUTRITION STUDIES

A Study in Nutrition: An Inquiry into the Diet of 154 Families of St. Andrews. By E. P. CATHCART and A. M. T. MURRAY, assisted by M. SHANKS. (Great Britain, "Medical Research Council Special Report Series," No. 151.) London: M.H. Stationery Office, 1931. Pp. 60. 1s.

Studies in Nutrition: An Inquiry into the Diet of Families in Cardiff and Reading. By E. P. CATHCART and A. M. T. MURRAY, assisted by M. SHANKS. (Great Britain, "Medical Research Council Special Report Series," No. 165.) London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1932. Pp. 28. 6s.

The two diet inquiries follow similar lines. The first is a report in the diet of 154 families in St. Andrews. The second a study of the diet of 56 families in Cardiff and 57 families in Reading.

The purpose of both inquiries was the same—to obtain more accurate quantitative knowledge of the normal diets actually used by inhabitants of Great Britain. In the first study, at St. Andrews, "information was obtained with regard to a vertical section of a comparatively well-to-do population"; in the second inquiry data were obtained relating to "horizontal samples of two working-class communities living under divergent industrial and environmental conditions."

What is called the "quantitative or 'energy' aspect of nutrition" is dealt with as distinguished from the "qualitative aspect which is concerned chiefly with the quality, source, and distribution of the various constituents that go to form

the complete diet." The value of the diet in calories is determined, and the proportions for which the three main principles of food—protein, fat, and carbohydrate—are respectively responsible. There is also a consideration of the differences in diet in relation to differences in economic status.

All three of the group studies point to an unexpectedly high consumption of fat. "Accurate knowledge on points such as these is obviously essential for the proper application of the results of nutritional science to the practical problems in health and disease."

HOUSING AGAIN

Publications of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. By JOHN M. GRIES and JAMES FORD (general eds.).

House Design, Construction and Equipment (Publication V). By WILLIAM STANLEY PARKER, ALBERT P. GREENSFELDER, and COLLINS P. BLISS. Washington, D.C., 1932. Pp. xvii+325. \$1.15.

Household Management and Kitchens (Publication IX). By EFFIE I. RAITT and ABBY M. MARLATT. Washington, D.C., 1932. Pp. xii+228. \$1.15.

The first of these volumes presents the reports of three of the committees whose work of a year or more culminated in the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership held in December, 1931. As with all groups of the Conference, the committee made a sincere effort to consider chiefly the needs of the lower-income levels with the idea that those building houses costing \$10,000 or more would undoubtedly employ the services of an architect. There is frequent reference to "what 70 out of 100 families can afford." In serving this group, however, the committees have brought together material which has not been easily available at any price and which will be of interest to all home-owners and to those working with housing problems.

The section on "Design" is a report of the work of a committee of more than twenty architects in widely separated parts of the country. The group concerned themselves with the dwelling of six rooms or less of the single-family, two-family, or multi-family types. These are for the most part produced by builders and retailed to the public. We are told at the outset that the term "design" is used to include all the factors that create a dwelling, economic, social, and financial as well as physical. Topics considered include the relation of house to lot, to adjacent houses, to the neighborhood and the city. Careful attention to such group design would prevent the mechanical repetition of stereotyped dwellings on uniform lots which is seen in a majority of the subdivisions which have proved poor social assets and bad financial risks in past-years. Examples are cited of satisfactory group planning with development of the center of the block rather than the street which modern life has made a dangerous service-alley. The tend-

ency in large cities to build from twenty-five to one hundred houses in a group makes such projects feasible. In an Appendix is given the report of a survey of trends of home-building in various parts of the country with a report of costs furnished by responsible builders in ten larger and a number of smaller cities. Another Appendix gives a tentative score card for the evaluation of residence properties. The use of such a guide by building and real estate interests, architects, and financing companies would prevent the substitution of competitive features of doubtful value and poor taste for sound structure and adequate space.

Problems of construction are dealt with in another section, which is the work of a Committee of Builders, Engineers, and Dealers in Construction materials. Chapters are devoted to building codes and construction organization. The conclusions of the Committee are given, and in many cases the dissenting voice of a minority opinion appears as a reminder that the building industry is a field of controversy and diversity of opinion. Suggestions for lowering costs of building include pre-fabrication or manufacture in mill or factory rather than on the job and development of grades and specifications along the lines of the work of the Division of Simplified Practice. Diagrams and brief descriptions of twenty small houses built and sold at prices ranging from \$1,950 to \$9,850 are given in an Appendix.

Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the work of the Committee on Fundamental Equipment—heating, ventilating and air-conditioning, plumbing and sanitation, electric lighting and wiring and refrigeration. As stated in the Foreword, the aim was “to describe for the home owner the fundamental requirements which should govern his selection of equipment for his particular house.” The general principles and detailed information are given in relation to varying types of buildings in different regions of the country. Initial and operating costs are compared and opinions of the best authorities in the country are brought together. Home-owners at all income levels will find much helpful information.

The inclusion of a discussion of management problems in the scope of the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership was a recognition of the relation of housing to sound family life, not only as to adequacy of shelter and safety, but in its effect on nervous tension and on individual and group development. Publication IX brings together material given in separate studies, many of them unpublished. The bibliography given in the footnotes is unusually complete and will be of value to the worker who finds useful leads in the points touched upon in the text.

Management is interpreted as including time and energy expenditures as well as those of money. It is often difficult to distinguish between the practice which can be proved to be right and that which is considered right because it is what is done. The field offers much opportunity for differences of opinion and these are frankly expressed. Some satisfaction in home-ownership depends in part upon the amount of work needed to keep the house in order, the size and

arrangement of rooms, the equipment provided, and the materials and finishes employed become factors worthy of careful consideration. Five pages of questions so phrased as to indicate desired practices cover every feature of a house.

One chapter is devoted to purchasing procedures, including the pro and con of instalment buying, the changes necessitated by modern ideas of diversity of diet and of developments in education for consumer purchasing. The chapter on budgeting includes reports of studies in family expenditures at different levels and pertinent material from census reports. Elsewhere consideration is given to substitute services in the home and to the influence of the increase in number of home-makers who are gainfully employed.

The Committee on Kitchens and Other Work Centers reports study of actual conditions in single-family and multi-family dwellings in various sections of the United States and some examples from European countries. This was used as a basis for further studies of factors affecting efficiency and usefulness and for recommendations for improvement in present practices. Suggestive pictures and diagrams are included. Emphasis throughout the volume is on provision for intelligent and efficient mechanics of housekeeping in order to free time and energy for the less tangible tasks of home-making. Those interested in the welfare of the individual home will find much helpful material in these reports. The wider contribution will be found in the information thus made available for architects and builders and for those groups which are working for improvements in standards of housing.

FRANCES L. SWAIN

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MENTAL DEFECTIVES IN COLONIES

Colonies for Mental Defectives. Report of the Departmental Committee, Appointed by the Board of Control, with the Approval of the Minister of Health, To Consider Matters Relating to the Construction of Colonies for Mental Defectives. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1931. Pp. 55+ 11 sets of suggested plans. 2s.

This report is of direct interest to those concerned with the institutional care of mental patients, since it represents a thorough inquiry into the best English practice and present trends in the care of mental defectives. The principle of the colony is accepted, with a desirable minimum of from 500 to 900 patients, and a maximum population dependent on the area to be served. Any proposed colony is to be preceded by a survey of the probable number of patients in this area and a planned layout of buildings on the selected site.

Housing in detached villas is recommended, with enough separation and differentiation to allow individuality. Each villa is designed to accommodate from 40 to 60 patients. A two-story, H-shaped design is favored, with dayrooms and services on the ground floor and with dormitory accommodation above.

The colony plan calls for a central kitchen, with dining arrangements in each villa. As the colony increases in size, provision is made for the addition of necessary workshops, school buildings, and a recreation hall. Suitable staff accommodation, with staff recreation facilities, is carefully included.

Such a colony of villas is a welcome change from the barrack institutions of a generation earlier. And the question is thereby pointedly raised—Why should such desirable and economical housing be limited to mental defectives only? Must we continue with our bare 1,000 bed blocks for our chronic insane, or might not they, too, respond to a human form of housing?

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WOMEN IN CLERICAL SERVICES

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Office Clerks in Ohio, 1914-1929 (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 95). By AMY G. MAHER. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. 34. \$0.10.

This is the fourth study in the excellent series by the Information Bureau on Women's Work in Toledo, based upon weekly pay-roll data collected by the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics for the years 1914-29, inclusive. The proportion of men and women in the clerical groups, their relative rates of both money and real wages according to types of firm, and their employment fluctuations are given. It is hoped that this study may later be carried through the depression period.

M. R. C.

ENGLISH ACTUARIES AND HEALTH INSURANCE

National Health Insurance. Report by the Government Actuary on the Third Valuation of the Assets and Liabilities of Approved Societies (Great Britain; Cmd. 3978). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1931. Pp. 97. 1s. 6d.

The British national health insurance system provides for the carrying of three cash benefits—sickness benefit, disablement benefit, and maternity benefit—through what are called "Approved Societies." These so-called "Approved Societies" include various Friendly Societies, trade-unions, employers' provident funds, and state branches of the commercial Industrial Assurance Societies. The Health Insurance Act requires that the assets and liabilities of each Approved Society or branch of such society must be valued actuarially every five years. The present report is the government actuary's report on the third valuation.

The total number of insured persons covered by the third valuation was 16,380,143, including 10,816,420 men and 5,563,723 women. Of the women, 21 per cent were married. It is significant that, while the number of insured un-

married women has increased 10.9 per cent since the last quinquennial valuation, the number of insured married women has increased 23.8 per cent. An analysis of the married women according to age shows an increase of about 30 per cent in the number under the age of thirty and of about 20 per cent in those of higher ages. This substantial increase in young married women seems to indicate a gradual increase in the proportion of women who remain in insurable occupations after marriage.

Table I, which shows the distribution of Approved Society membership in the different types of societies, shows that the commercial insurance companies still bulk very large in the Health Insurance organization.

TABLE I
INSURED MEMBERSHIP BY TYPE OF SOCIETY

GROUP	NUMBER OF MEMBERS (UNDER AGE OF 65)	
	Men	Women
1. Friendly societies with branches.....	2,357,941	767,899
2. Friendly societies without branches.....	2,780,207	1,153,341
3. Industrial assurance and collecting societies...	4,377,526	3,224,163
4. Trades-unions.....	1,219,769	251,052
5. Employers' provident funds.....	80,977	30,666
Total approved society membership.....	10,816,420	5,427,121

A great many interesting conclusions are reached by the actuarial report as to the future claims for sickness and disablement benefits in relation to the ability of the societies to meet them. It is not possible to discuss these within the limits set for this review. Particularly interesting, however, is the fall of about 13 per cent in the claims for Maternity Benefit. This is the cash benefit paid to an insured woman or to the wife of an insured man at the time of confinements, and the decline in claims for this benefit is obviously significant.

However, in the case of sickness and disablement benefits, the claims have shown a marked increase. The sickness claims for women have been 17 per cent, and the disablement claims 15 per cent, above the general averages. There has also been, on the side of receipts, a shortage of contributions, but the report says that "it is clear that the grave decline which the valuation results exhibit is to be ascribed in the main to the great excess in the claims for sickness and disablement benefits." With regard to the explanation, the report concludes "that it is difficult to find adequate reasons for this experience."

But students of health insurance should certainly examine the earlier returns on this point. Shortly after the payment of sickness benefit claims began, in January, 1913, it was found that claims by women for this benefit were considerably in excess of the actuarial estimates which, however, had probably been

too largely based on the experience of men's societies. However, after the organization of the war industries when there was both regular employment and high wages, the *Report on the Administration of National Health Insurance during the Years 1914-17* said that the fall in the rate of sickness during 1915 and 1916 seemed clearly "to confirm the view, which authorities on the subject have always held, that there is a close connection between industrial activity and sickness claims." The earlier report went on to say that so far as women were concerned (and it was indicated that the same might be said of men) it seemed evident that the right policy to be adopted in regard to heavy sickness claims is less to be found in the provision of special grants by which the expenditure may continue to be supported, than in the securing of industrial conditions under which wages are high enough to ensure a sufficiency of good food, and due attention is paid to the welfare of the worker. In other words, and apart from considerations of the comfort and happiness of the individual, it is better that the worker should be kept in health than that maintenance in preventable sickness should be unstintingly provided [Cd. 8890, 1917, p. 12].

It is still too soon to determine the final result of the great privations of the prolonged unemployment on health and its relation to sickness claims, but American women will question such decisions as the following:

The additional benefits available to women—and indeed those available to insured persons of both sexes who are or have been in common insurance—must, over a wide field, be either diminished very materially or discontinued altogether. . . .

To secure the sufficiency of the present contributions without change of benefits, a reduction of about 20 per cent all round in the cost of the sickness and disablement benefits paid to women on the average of recent years, would be necessary. . . .

The outlook seems to be rather ominous, and there is perhaps danger that the British authorities will meet the situation by reducing some of the benefits paid by women or by increasing the women's contributions. It is to be hoped that no such backward step will be taken.

On the whole, however, the report concludes, reassuringly, that, while "the position revealed by the third valuation is one of some complexity, its predominant feature is the magnitude of the aggregate surplus and the substantial additional benefits enuring to a large proportion of the insured population."

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